'BANDE MATARAM' AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

(1906-1908)

Being a study in the ideas of India's First Freedom Movement based on those rare editorial articles of Sri Aurobindo and Bepin Chandra Pal which first appeared in the famous *Bande Mataram* daily between 1906 and 1908.

By

Prof. Haridas Mukherjee

and

Prof. Uma Mukherjee

Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay
6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12
September, 1957

The authors of this work have specialised in the history of the Swadeśhi Movement (1905-1911) which they call India's First Freedom's Battle and they have already made valuable contributions to that phase of Modern Indian History.

Dr. S. N. Sen, the historian of **Eighteen Fifty-Seven** writes of them : "They have worked hard and examined source materials not easily available. Their study is objective and they have carried their investigation on scientific lines".

On them Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the historian of **The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857** comments : "The authors have grasped the real spirit of the great

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FOREWORD

Bande Mataram was not a political slogan, it was not a mere musical composition, it was more than a national anthem, it was a solemn oath of allegiance to the motherland. The real significance of *Bande Mataram* was not understood until militant nationalism found full expression in the Swadeshi and Revolutionary movements of Bengal when it became the war cry of national resurgence. Bepinchandra and Aurobindo, as true sons (*santans*) of Mother India, adopted *Bande Mataram* as the name of their English paper that was to serve as the organ of revolutionary nationalism. During its brief existence the paper played an important part in the history of the Freedom Movement of India. No student interested in that brilliant epoch in the country's history can afford to ignore the message *Bande Mataram* brought to its countrymen. Profs. Haridas and Uma Mukherjee deserve congratulations for rescuing from old rescuing from inaccessible files of *Bande Mataram* a large number of more important editorials, many of them from the pen of Aurobindo himself, and making them available to the general reading public. The editorials will doubtless help to revive the memories of those glorious times and the great heroes who made them ever memorable.

6, Ekdalia Place,
Calcutta-19.
7.9.57.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

AUTHORS' NOTE

The present work is a careful compilation of select editorial articles of that powerful English daily, *Bande Mataram,* which under the able editorship of Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose ushered in a new era in the country by giving voice to the mind of resurgent India at the beginning of the present century. The paper lasted just a little over two years, from August, 1906 to October, 1908. Regrettably enough, the old copies of that epoch-making journal have been in the main lost to the country due to the confusion of the troubled years following the Press Act of 1908 and other subsequent acts of repression. Fortunately, however, we have been able to get hold of certain copies of *Bande Mataram,* both in its Daily and Weekly edition, as a result of our strenuous and persistent search for a number of years. Altogether we have recovered about one hundred and fifty editorials, a careful selection from which is being offered to readers in the present work. Authorship of most of these articles has been identified partly by internal evidences and partly with the kindly assistance of Srijut Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, who was on the editorial board of *Bande Mataram* from first to last. Altogether the book is a contribution to the source-materials for a study of the first phase of India's Freedom Movement. Apart from thought-contents, the book has an additional attraction for readers because the articles presented here read like literature.

In the preparation of this work we have received substantial help from Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Dr. Sushil Kumar Dutt. Our special indebtedness is due to Dr. Surendra Nath Sen for writing a valuable Foreword to our work. Among many others who have encouraged us in this venture the names of Profs. Narayan Chandra Saha, Chandika Prasad Banerjee and Sunil Kumar Roychowdhury deserve special mention.

104, Ballygunge Gardens,
Calcutta-19.
15.8.'57

Haridas Mukherjee
and
Uma Mukherjee

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* Excepting the last two articles which were from the pen of Bepin Chandra Pal, all the editorials presented here were written by Aurobindo Ghose.

CHAPTER I

'BANDE MATARAM' AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

Bankimchandra's Vision of the Mother, 1882

Bande Mataram means "Hail to the Mother". It is the name of that immortal song of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894) which he composed in a flash of poetic ecstasy and first published in his *Ananda Math* or Abode of Bliss in 1882. This poem may be taken as signifying the very essence of the idealism which permeates the entire novel—a blend of the categorical imperative of the *Gita* and the Positivism of Comte. It is not a religious song in the ordinary sense of the term. It is neither Hindu nor Muslim in its contents. Intense nationalism is the very spirit which the poem breathes. The Mother conceived is not an ordinary religious deity, but a new entity, the mother-country in which we live and move and have our beings. The mother-country is not a mere mass of territory but a living entity working through her sons and fulfilling her mission through them. Bankim discovered the religion of patriotism and gave an undying utterance to it in his *Bande Mataram.* "Chatterji's patriotic doctrine of the country as the object of worship", observes Benoy Kumar Sarker, "is integrally associated with his Comtist religion in which humanity (and not divinity) commands adoration. *Bande Mataram* is a Comtist hymn, an anti-theocratic ode of rationalism, freed from the cult of gods"*(1).

It is not perhaps known to many that Comtist influence was a profoundly formative force in the moral and intellectual outfit of Bankim. He was one of the earliest and loudest protagonists of Positivist ideas and ideals in our

*(1) *Villages and Towns As Social Patterns* (Cal., 1941, p. 357).

country in the last century. *Bangadarshan* founded by him in 1872 acted as a mighty vehicle of this new spirit*(2). Even in *Prachar* which succeeded *Bangadharshan* under his able editorship Bankim contributed several articles on Positivism. His *Krishna Charitra* (1886) and *Dharma-tattva* (1888) breathe the spirit of Comtism. The religion propagated by him in these two classical works was quite different from conventional Hinduism. Bankim's Krishna was his own creation. His Krishna is not a god but the ideal man or the superman of all ages, under whose banner the contending peoples of India could be unified and fused into a nation*(3). Bankim held up the character of Krishna as the symbol of national unity. *Krishna Charitra* was a dedication to Indian Nationalism. Again, in his *Dharma-tattva* he preached a new religion, quite different from traditional Hinduism. In internal contents and the structural plan of the work, Auguste Comte has every right to be regarded as the spiritual predecessor of Bankim. His *Dharma-tattva* was essentially modelled on the structure of Comte's *Catechism and Positivism* (1852) which records thirteen conversations between a Christian priest and his lady follower. The religion of service to humanity is the core and essence of Bankim's *Dharma-tattva* and Comte's influence on him is too palpable to be ignored.

An Intellectual Revolution Effected (1882-1905)

The years intervening between the first publication of *Bande Mataram* (1882) and the beginning of the Swadeshi

*(2) Vide *Bangadarshan*, *Sravan* 1279 B.S and *Pous* 1281 B.S

*(3) Mr Amit Sen's assertion in his *Notes on Bengal Renaissance* (Bombay, 1946, p 34) that Bankim tried to vindicate "the character of Krishna as depicted in our ancient books" is utterly misleading. See in this connection poet Bejoylal Chatterjee's work on "মুক্তি-পাগল বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র" (*Mukti Pagal Bankimchandra*) for a correct appraisal of Bankim's sketch of the character of Sri Krishna.

Movement (1905) were a period of momentous changes in the history of our country. The spirit of Nationalism of which Surendranath and Bankim, Tilak and Vivekananda were the trusted and accredited exponents was steadily growing and asserting itself. At the turn of the century Bengal that stood in the vanguard of intellectual re-awakening became the scene of revolutionary enthusiasm and militant nationalism. The Swadeshi Movement that broke out in 1905 was the first great expression of that militant nationalism and marked the first stage in India's struggle for independence. In the 19th century Indian leaders had accepted the British administration in this country as a sort of a divine dispensation, reconciled themselves mentally to an acceptance of that rule as conditions for peace and stability and occasionally sought redress of specific grievances within the fundamental framework of British rule. In an article on "India's Duty to England", the *Hindu Patriot* (April 8, 1878) editorially wrote thus: "Our rulers may rest assured that the symptoms of dissatisfaction which they notice among the princes and people of India are no symptoms of a wish for a political revolution. Far from it. Both the princes and people of India fully appreciate the order which the English have introduced, the protection and security which they have given, and the principles of progress, which they have instilled into life"*(4). In an editorial article on "England's Greatness and India's Gain", the *Bengalee* (July 8, 1900) declared the same sentiment. The article was from the pen of Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the editor of the *Dawn*, and reprinted in his famous monthly in December of the same year. On the whole, an implicit faith in the moral foundation of

*(4) Vide: J. K. Majumdar: *Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule*: 1821-1918 (Cal., 1937. p. 186) and our Bengali pamphlet on *Swadeshi Andolan* (Cal. 1953, pp. 23-25).

the British administration in India was a sort of a first postulate in thinking in our political leaders and wise men of the 19th century. The Swadeshi Movement radically altered the old outlook among the intelligentia, undermined the old basis of implicit trust in the moral claims of British rule and inspired them to clamour and struggle in terms of the shining ideal of *Swaraj* or Autonomy for India. In the eyes of the new generation whose outlook was moulded by Bipin Chandra Pal, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya and Aurobindo Ghose, the English rulers had forfeited their claims to Indian loyalty and co-operation by a century of misgovernment. "A nation politically disorganised, a nation morally corrupted, intellectually pauperised, physically broken and stunted", declared the new spirit, "is the result of a hundred years of British rule, the account which England can give before God of the trust which He placed in her hands"*(5). A stronger stricture of British rule in India could hardly be conceived.

Bande Mataram Not an Anthem before 1905

Bande Mataram which remained so long the poet's dream became in 1905 the political slogan or the battle-cry of a nation reawkening after a mighty downfall The song thus acquired a revolutionary significance and became before long the national anthem. The miraculous transformation of *Bande Mataram* from an innocent song into a revolutionary slogan was the work of Young Bengal of 1905. The students' demonstrations in Calcutta that followed Surendranath's trial and imprisonment as a result of the Contempt Case of 1883 were not marked by any utterance of *Bande Mataram*. A contemporary observer of the situation has thus recorded: "Notwithstanding the agitation

*(5) Vide: *Bande Mataram*, April 7, 1908.

over the Ilbert Bill, and the imprisonment of Mr. Surendranath Banerji in 1883, no fuss was made over the *Bande Mataram.* I was then in Calcutta and remember distinctly that the thousands of students who flocked round the Calcutta High Court during the trial of Mr. Banerji did not sing the *Bande Mataram*"*(6). The same picture was depicted by Romesh Chandra Dutt when he wrote: "During Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's lifetime the 'Bande Mataram', though its dangerous tendency was recognised, was not used as a party war cry; it was not raised, for instance, during the Ilbert Bill agitation nor by the students who flocked round the court during the trial of Surendra Nath Banerjee in 1883. It has, however, obtained an evil notoreity in the agitations that followed the partition of Bengal. That Bankim Chandra himself foresaw or desired any such use of it is impossible to believe" (Vide R. C. Dutt's paper on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* 11th Ed., Vol. VI, p. 10). Again in 1885 when the Indian National Congress was founded, no cognizance was taken of *Bande Mataram.* True, a few lines from that song were incorporated in the concluding portions of Hemchandra's *Rakhi-Bandhan,* a Bengali poem composed in 1886 at the time of the Calcutta Session of the Congress*(7); yet it is difficult to prove that *Bande Mataram* of Bankim found any general acceptance at the hands of the people at that time. For the first time that song was sung on the Congress platform in 1896 by a poet no less than Rabindra Nath Tagore. But *Bande Mataram* had not yet then acquired any special significance apart from other national songs like "আমরা মিলেছি আজ মায়ের ডাকে" (1886) and "অয়ি ভুবন মনমোহিনী" (1896). It was only in 1905 when the political soul of Bengal was

*(6) Vide: S. M. Mitra's *Indian Problems* (London, 1908, p. 67).
*(7) H. P Ghose's Bengali work on *Congress O Bangla* (Cal., 1936, pp. 135-136).

awakened and the nation was searching for the discovery of a medium by which it could express itself to itself that *Bande Mataram* became a living slogan, an embodiment of the rising hopes and sentiments of nationalism. *Bande Mataram* as a revolutionary anthem was the creation of the Young Bengal. What was a vision in Bankim's mind in 1882 now became a dynamic reality during the Swadeshi days*(8).

Bande Mataram becomes a Battle-cry (1905)

This transformation in the spirit and character of *Bande Mataram* in 1905 did not pass unnoticed by contemporaries. A silent and sober observer like Satish Chandra Mukherjee of the *Dawn* and Dawn Society, observed in 1905: " 'Bande Mataram', Hail, Mother!—What Bengali heart is not set beating faster at the sound of the two magic words? When the late Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in his immortal work —*Ananda Math*, the 'Abode of Joy'—first sang the heart-stirring and soul-lifting song, the opening words of which have furnished Modern Bengal with a battle-cry and a divine inspiration, so to say—could he have dreamt of the transformation—the miraculous and wonderful transformation which the two mellifluent words were destined to work in the hopes and aspirations of his degenerate countrymen. The welkin now rings with *Bande Mataram*. The streets and lanes of Calcutta and of the rest of the province resound with the solemn watch-word. *Bande Mataram* has stirred the hearts of the people to their depths"*(9). Satischandra was a class-mate of Ashutosh Mukherjee and Narendra Nath Datta (later Swami Vivekananda), participated in the students' demonstrations of 1883 and had been a critical

*(8) B K Sarkar's *Naya Banglar Goda Pattan*, Vol. I (Cal., 1932, pp. 190-191).
*(9) *The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, Nov. 1905.

observer of men and matters since then. He was one of the fathers of the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 in its broader sense, and as such the observations of such an important man on the evolution of *Bande Mataram* have special significance. Again, Aurobindo Ghose may be cited as another authority on the point. A devoted admirer of Bankim ever since 1893-94, Aurobindo wrote in 1907: "It was thirty-two years ago that Bankim wrote his great song and few listened; but in a sudden moment of awakening from long delusions the people of Bengal looked round for the truth and in a fated moment somebody sang *Bande Mataram*"*(10).

First Cry of Bande Mataram on August 7

Bande Mataram as a mantra of Nationalism was uttered through thousands of voices for the first time on the fateful day of August 7, 1905 in connection with the historic Town Hall meeting promulgating resolution of Boycott and the vow of Swadeshi. The Government would have Partition of Bengal effected and the universal protest and indignation expressed by the people against that decision proved unavailing. The nation felt insulted, humiliated and tricked and had no alternative but to have recourse to a relentless course of Boycott of British goods even at a sacrifice. It was a fitting and telling reply of an unarmed and disarmed nation to the autocracy of the alien government. The Government in the matter of Partition had despisingly boycotted a united Bengali opinion. "A boycott of one kind", wrote Satischandra, "was therefore sought to be met by a boycott of another"*(11). It was the last legitimate resort

*(10) Vide: Aurobindo's *Bankim-Tilak-Dayananda* (Cal., 2nd Ed. 1947, p. 13).

*(11) *The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, Part I, May, 1906: Vide the article on "The True Character of Boycott".

of a helpless people to assert its outraged sense of national self-respect. The fateful day of August 7, which was marked by enthusiastic student demonstrations, was perhaps the first occasion on record on which the cry of *Bande Mataram* was raised as a political slogan*(12). Sreejut Hemendra Prasad Ghosh informs us from his personal experience that it was in connection with the Town Hall meeting of August 7 that the *Bande Mataram* slogan was uttered through a multitude of voices. From contemporary records we learn that the thousands of students, representing all communities, who had thronged on that day at the College Square at noon rent the sky with shouts of *Bande Mataram* and other slogans in course of their procession towards the Town Hall*(13). *Bande Mataram* became from this fated moment a mighty battle-cry of a subject nation. It was found to be the very expression of the national soul or what Rabindranath once called the *Swadeshi Atma*. Hardly a day passed in those days when the sky was not rent by shouts of *Bande Mataram*. Towns and villages vied with each other in profession of patriotism and loyalty to that nationalist mantra. Barisal, of all mofussil towns, stood in the vanguard and became, in the words of Aurobindo, "a sacred *pithasthan* of the national spirit". And what made the difference between Barisal and the other mofussil towns was that there was only one Aswini Kumar Dutt in Bengal at that time and Barisal was his birth place and field of work*(14). Occasions were not rare when the mantram of *Bande Mataram* was uttered in those days both by the Hindus and the Muslims. On May 20, 1906 in Barisal,

*(12) Vide Prafulla Kumar Sarkar's—*Jatiya Andolane Rabindranath*, (Cal., 2nd Ed. 1947, p. 65).
*(13) The *Englishman* (Aug. 8, 1905), The *Bengalee* (Aug. 9, 1905), and *Sanjivani* (Aug. 10, 1905).
*(14) Vide Aurobindo's speech at Jhalakati, *Bengalee*, June 27, 1909.

"An unprecedented *Bande Mataram* procession of Hindus and Mussalmans, numbering over ten thousand men came out of Babu Deno Bandhu Sen's house at noon....passed through all the principal streets of the town, singing national songs and crying *Bande Mataram* and *Alla-ho-Akbar* Both Hindus and Mussalmans carried *Bande Mataram* flags"*(15). The procession was headed by Aswini Kumar Dutt, Mohammed Shruff, Mitahar Hossain and many others. The scene that was witnessed in the mofussil was noticed in the metropolis also.

Bande Mataram Sampraday, Oct., 1905

A very important expression of the impact of *Bande Mataram* in the Swadeshi days was the formation of the *Bande Mataram Sampraday,* in North Calcutta in October, 1905. Originally started by a band of respectable and elderly gentlemen, the *Sampraday* soon drew to itself youthful votaries in large numbers for the purpose of propagating *Bande Mataram* sentiment among our countrymen. This Society had its President in Kumar Manmatha Nath Mitra, its Secretary in Suresh Chandra Samajpati and its Treasurer in Rai Amrita Lal Mitra Bahadur On every Sunday, the members of the Society went about in procession in the streets, singing *Bande Mataram* and accepting voluntary contributions from the people, although the collection of a fund was not their direct and conscious aim. Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh informs us that on one occasion Rabindranath also joined the procession. Thus the *Bande Mataram Sampraday* addressed itself to the propagation of the cult of the country with a mission and religious passion. During the Swadeshi days Kanthalpara, the birth-

*(15) The *Bengalee*, May 23, 1906.

place of Bankim, literarally became a holy pilgrimage for the Nationalists*(16).

'Bhawani Mandir' in Aurobindo's Imagination

But the greatest impact of *Bande Mataram* was felt by the leaders and builders of the new school of politics in Bengal, the Extremists or the Nationalists of those days. As the Swadeshi Movement was progressing apace in the country, extremism developed within its fold and created its suitable literature in journals like *Jugantar* and *Bande Mataram*. The *Bande Mataram* daily, as the very title suggests, was inspired by Bankim's immortal song and was calculated to promote an enthusiastic and all-conquering faith in Nationalism. Aurobindo's conception of "Bhawani Mandir" in which the Mother as the symbol of *Shakti* was seated, making utmost demands on our life, was also inspired by the *Bande Mataram* spirit of the *Ananda Math**(17). *Bhawani*, the Mother, was conceived by Aurobindo as the Infinite Energy or Shakti. "In the unending revolutions of the world, as the wheel of the Eternal turns mightily in its courses, the Infinite Energy, which streams forth from the Eternal and sets the wheel to work, looms up in the vision of man in various aspects and infinite forms. In the present age, the Mother is manifested as the mother of Strength. She is pure *Shakti*". In his vision Indian regeneration could be effected only by rebirth in *Shakti*, the ideal which Vivekananda preached all his life, and by making the best that we have, even our life, an offering on the

*(16) Vide Uma Mukherjee's paper on *Bande Mataram O Yuvak Bangla* as published in *Bangasri* (April, 1953) for further light on this point.

*(17) Aurobindo's leaflet on "Bhawani Mandir" was written and circulated by him during 1905-06. Vide: *Sri Aurobindo Mandir Annual, Jayanti No. 15*, 15th Aug. 1956, pp. 14-27.

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altar of the Mother. The whole conception was evidently animated by the spirit of *Bande Mataram*.

Bande Mataram and Bengal Extremism, 1906

The culmination of *Bande Mataram* was reached in that powerful English daily, *Bande Mataram* which became in the Swadeshi days the mightiest organ of Indian resurgence and Nationalism. Extremism was developing in the fold of the Congress since the beginning of the year 1906. The upholders of the cult of radicalism felt the need of an all-Indian organ so as to give the most articulate and effective expression of the new spirit that was rising. The *Yugantar* embodying that spirit appeared as a Bengali weekly by the middle of March 1906, but its appeal was mainly confined to the Bengali-speaking people. Next took place the Barisal outrage in connection with the Provincial Conference at Barisal (April 14-15, 1906), which was forcibly broken up by the police. The last hope of co-operation with the bureaucracy was fast vanishing The need for a vigorous propaganda of a more inspiring and thorough-going politics became keener than ever. In this background was started the famous *Bande Mataram*. It owed its origin to the idealism of Bepin Chandra Pal who with a paltry amount of Rupees five hundred or even less than it ventured upon that arduous task of patriotism. The first issue of *Bande Mataram* was brought out on August 6, 1906*(18). Soon Aurobindo joined it. Under their joint editorship, *Bande Mataram* was published upto the middle of December, 1906 when differences of opinion cropped up and Bepin Chandra

*(18) Vide H P. Ghose's *Aurobindo—The Prophet of Patriotism*, (Cal 1949, p 12). That the first issue of *Bande Mataram* was published on the 6th of Aug 1906 is categorically stated in an unpublished writing, discussing the origin of that daily, by the late Suresh Chandra Dey, the son-in-law of Bepin Chandra Pal.

abjured his editorial connection with that organ. On the 17th December, 1906 there was a notice in *Bande Mataram* that "Bepin Chandra Pal's editorial connection had ceased"*(19). Aurobindo became since then the guiding spirit and controlling factor of *Bande Mataram* and was ably assisted by a small band of writers including Shyam Sundar Chakravarty, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh and Bejoy Chandra Chatterjee. Aurobindo remained the unnamed editor of *Bande Mataram* till his arrest on May 2, 1908 when Bepin Chandra Pal was again invited to assume the editorial charge of that daily.

Democratisation of the Congress

Bande Mataram opened a new phase in the history of Indian Nationalism. It marked the decisive end of the period of mendicant policy in the Congress and invigorated it by holding up before its eyes the vision of *Swaraj* and also suggesting certain well-defined means within the limits of law for attaining it. Even in its early issues the ideal of political freedom was declared in no uncertain voice. "If India ever attains political freedom", wrote *Bande Mataram* (Aug. 22, 1906), "it will be through her own efforts". The demand for the reconstitution of the Congress on democratic lines was raised by it even from the very beginning, and attack was hurled at the "autocratic ways of our own democratic leaders". "Ever since the birth of the Congress", wrote *Bande Mataram* in 1906, "those who have been in the leadership of this great National Movement, have persistently denied the general public in the country, the right of determining what shall and what shall not be said or done on their behalf and in

*(19) Vide the speech of Byomkesh Chakravarty in the "Bande Mataram Sedition Trial" as published in *Bande Mataram*, Weekly Edition, Sept. 29, 1907, p. 7.

their name. The delegates have been gathered from all parts of the country not to deliberate upon public matters but simply to lend their support to the decisions that had already been arrived by secret conclaves of half-a-dozen men"*(20). The existing autocracy in the leadership of the Congress "will have to be put down with a strong hand by means of an organised effort on the part of those who believe in democracy". Again, in another editorial, *Bande Mataram* expressed the same spirit. "The political agitations and activities among us of the last quarter of a century have created a number of what may be called 'rings' in the country. There are few districts that have not such a 'ring', composed generally of two or three successful lawyers who have all these years claimed the right both of representing and controlling the public life and opinion of their respective towns and districts. These rings were like shells that helped to preserve the seed of democracy in the earlier stages of its evolution, but a time comes when for the germination of this seed these rings have to be broken asunder and destroyed or the seed confined beyond its time within its own shell and cover, is dried up and destroyed. The time has come among us to break the old lawyer rings up, and to bring the seed of democracy out of its shell and place it in the open air and light of the day, so that it may germinate, send out its shoots and twigs, grow into a plant, a tree, and then bear its own flowers and fruits for the glory of God and the good of man. The present agitation means this breaking up of the old shells. Its means the advance of the people to their own rights; the demand of the nation that those who claim to be its

*(20) Vide the editorial article on "Congress and Democracy". Also see the article on "The Shell and the Seed" in *Bande Mataram* of Sept. 17, 1906.

trustees shall render an account of their trust to their principles, and be guided and controlled by them"*(21).

Political Liberty the First Condition of National Regeneration

A second line of work that *Bande Mataram* took up from the very outset was to reveal in its true colours the autocracy of the alien Government established by the sword in this country. It cried halt to the old policy of "prayer, petition and protest" and asked the people to cry out to the Moderates:

"Petition, Prayer and Protest
Tell me not in mournful numbers
The three 'P's an empty dream
For the British soul now slumbers
And things are not what they seem"*(22).

Bande Mataram complained in a loud voice that the political agitation of our country in the last century was "entirely confined to the smaller and narrower objects...... to half-way houses our wise men and political seers directed our steps—with this limited ideal they confined the rising hopes and imaginations of a mighty people re-awakening after a great downfall. Their political inexperience prevented them from realising that those measures on which we have mispent half-a-century of unavailing effort, were not only paltry and partial in their scope but in their nature ineffective"*(23). It argued that a spendthrift government

*(21) *Bande Mataram*, Sept. 17, 1906. See the article on "The Shell and the Seed".

*(22) Vide "The Psalms of P's" in *Bande Mataram*, Jan. 10, 1907. So far as we can judge the parody was composed by Shyam Sundar Chakravarty.

*(23) Vide Aurobindo's *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (Cal. 1948, pp. 12-13). The book is a compilation of the series of articles on "Passive Resistance" that Aurobindo contributed to *Bande Mataram* in April, 1907.

could undo the benefits of the Permanent Settlement without any direct infringement of its provisions, that a mere robbing of judicial functions would not disarm the executive oppression, nor would Simultaneous Examinations and liberal employment of Indians in the services would mend the matter. "The only true cure for a bad and oppressive financial system", wrote Aurobindo in *Bande Mataram*, "is to give the control over taxation to the people whose money pays for the needs of government. The only effective way of putting an end to executive tyranny is to make the people and not an irresponsible Government the controller and paymaster of both executive and judiciary... This is the object which the new politics, the politics of the twentieth century, places before the people of India in their resistance to the present system of Government, not tinkerings and palliatives but the substitution for the autocratic bureaucracy, which at present misgoverns us, of a free constitutional and democratic system of government and the entire removal of foreign control in order to make way for perfect national liberty"*(24). *Bande Mataram* believed that each nation has a right to live its life in its own way and that the first condition of Indian regeneration was the seizure of the *Rajashakti* or the Government by the people, and, therefore, it urged upon the concentration of the whole energies of the nation on the realisation of that ideal before the question of moral improvement of the race or industrial or social regeneration could be undertaken*(25). It triumphantly preached the cult of the country and raised Nationalism to the rank of a religion and acknowledged Bankimchandra, the poet and

*(24) Vide *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance*, pp. 15-16.
*(25) Vide our paper entitled "The Ideologies of the Swadeshi Movement" in the *Hindusthan Standard*, October 11, 1953.

prophet of patriotism, as "inspirer and political guru" of the new spirit which was nerving the nation to its first effort at independence. In its view, nothing short of *Swaraj* or complete autonomy could satisfy the national soul and be an object worth living and dying for. The discovery of the new invigorating ideal and bringing it to forefront of the national programme was a signal service of *Bande Mataram*. While generally appreciating the results of the Calcutta Session of the Congress, held in December, 1906, *Bande Mataram* voiced its disappoinment with regard to a particular point and that was the President's qualified demand for *Swaraj* "The work of the older men," proclaimed *Bande Mataram* at the end of the Congress Session of 1906, "had been done in preparing a generation which were determined to have this great ideal (i e., of *Swaraj*) and nothing else; the work of making that ideal a reality, lies with us. We accept Mr. Naoroji's call and to carry out his injunction will devote our lives and, if necessary, sacrifice them"*(26)

Dadabhai Naoroji as the leader of the Moderates tried to capture the name of *Swaraj*, the Extremists' term for independence, for a simple colonial self-government The Extremists would be satisfied by nothing short of complete political independence and elevated the term *Swaraj* into a sanctified mantra. "Freedom's battle, once begun," declared *Bande Mataram*, "must be carried on to the bitter end.......The tortures undergone by the people have been for them an initiation in the worship of liberty. Persecutions do not crush but fortify conviction and no power on earth can exterminate the seed of liberty when it has once

*(26) See the editorial on "The Results of the Congress", *Bande Mataram*, Dec. 31, 1906.

germinated in the blood of earnest and sincere men....The line of work is to mix with the masses and to organise and reduce to a system the ideas and aspirations now scattered and disseminated. They (the Nationalists) will put their trust in the nation and they will make all compromise impossible till the Indian soil is free"*(27). The ideal of "unqualified Swaraj" was placed before the countrymen as the only inspiring ideal to fight for and die. But this *Swaraj* was not to be a mere aspiration for political liberty. "*Swaraj* as the fulfilment of the ancient life of India under modern conditions, the return of the *Satyajuga* of national greatness, the resumption by her of her great role of teacher and guide, self-liberation of the people for the final fulfilment of the Vedantic ideal in politics, this is the true *Swaraj* for India.....She (India) cannot do it without taking the management of her own life into her own hands. She must live her own life and not the life of a part or subordinate in a foreign Empire"*(28).

Doctrine of Passive Resistance

Bande Mataram not only preached the ideal of *Swaraj* for India but also advocated passive or defensive resistance as the means to its realisation. "The first principle of passive resistance, which the new school have placed in the forefront of thier programme is to make the administration under present condition impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which shall help either British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it—unless and until the conditions are

*(27) Vide the article on "The New Faith" in ***Bande Mataram***, Weekly Edition, Dec. 1, 1907.

*(28) Vide the article on "Ideals Face to Face" in ***Bande Mataram***, Weekly Edition, May 3, 1908.

changed in the manner and to the extent demanded by the people. This attitude is summed up in one word, Boycott"*(29). Originally devised as an economic weapon, the Boycott was soon endowed by *Bande Mataram* with an unlimited range and significance. It expressed itself in four-fold refusal of co-operation with the Government,— the economic boycott, the educational boycott, the judicial boycott, as well as the boycott of the executive administration. And this totalitarian refusal of co-operation was to be kept within the bounds of law unless and until it was found utterly impossible. Bepin Chandra was the first great leader of Indian thought who gave expression to this doctrine of organised passive resistance, and it was Aurobindo who built out of it a consistent and coherent political creed in his editorials in *Bande Mataram* The Non-violent Non-Co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi is thus found to be anticipated in a substantial manner by the two foremost exponents of Indian Nationalism during the Swadeshi days. All glory then to *Bande Mataram* which sketched the ideals and technique of India's Freedom Movement with the greatest amount of fidelity to the national soul.

Impact of Bande Mataram

Bande Mataram was a unique feat of journalism in the history of Indian Nationalism. Never before was the truth of the saying "The pen is mighter than the sword" revealed in our country more forcefully and effectively than by this daily. "The *Bande Mataram*", writes Aurobindo, "was almost unique in journalistic history in the influence it exercised in converting the mind of people and preparing

*(29) Vide Aurobindo's *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance*, pp. 35-36.

it for revolution"*(30). Within the incredibly short period of two years (Aug. 1906 to Oct. 1908) it succeeded in effecting a revolution in the whole mental attitude of our countrymen. It preached with an unfaltering voice that all political struggles are trials of strength and freedom must be wrested from the hands of the bureaucracy by our own determination and strength. The boon of liberty, it declared, cannot be purchased in the cheapest market. It exposed with merciless frankness the hollowness and futility of the medicant policy of the Moderates. It told the people that it is not by prayer and petition to the alien Government that a nation's liberty is bought, but by a grim battle with the bureaucracy and shedding the martyr's blood. "It is not the talk of Swaraj that can bring Swaraj, but it is the living of Swaraj by each man among us that will compel Swaraj to come"*(31). The bases of that unqualified *Swaraj* for India must be built up from the villages and the masses carried with the forward movement. "The future of the country", it proclaimed, "is in the jail with Leakat Hossain and Chidambaran Pillay, not at Allahabad with Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta. The hope of the nation is in the young men of the Samities, not in the old leaders who seek to fling their fortified prestige and waning popularity as stumbling blocks in the way of Swaraj The destiny of India lies in the masses who surged behind Chidambaran at Tuticorin, who crowded to adore Tilak at Pandharpur, who hang on the lips of Bepin Chandra in East Bengal, not with the handful of lawyers and English-educated graduates who have hitherto called themselves the nation. Not in Convention with false creeds

*(30) Vide *Sri Aurobindo on Himself*—p. 58.
*(31) Vide *Bande Mataram*, Weekly Edition, April, 12, 1908.

but in the people lives the power of God which is lord of its future"*(32).

The effect of such preaching was soon felt in the country which became alive with the cry of *Bande Mataram*. The bureaucracy felt alarmed and responded to the cry of Nationalism with every possible form of repression and coercion which the Government could devise. Swadeshi cases were instituted, sedition trials prosecuted, police raids encouraged, anti-national disturbances fomented and persecutions of school boys conducted with a rigour and brutality beating all previous records. Not on editorial articles but simply on side-issues and foreign matter published in the journal, the bureaucracy mad with fury at the march of Nationalism, started an untenable sedition case against *Bande Mataram* in 1907 Aurobindo Ghose, the one individual whom the Government wanted to silence, was acquitted as there was not a scrap of evidence to prove his guilt, and only the unfortunate printer of the paper who knew no English was "sent to prison for a few months to vindicate the much-damaged majesty of the al-mighty bureaucracy"*(33). The art of "safe slander" was brought in *Bande Mataram* to its utmost possible perfection and thanks to its able editorship, it was never subjected to prosecution on editorial articles. The *Statesman* complained that "the paper reeked with sedition patently visible between every line, but it was so skilfully written that no legal action could be taken". And that was precisely an argument of the Government to modify the existing Press Laws and to make them more severe than before. More and more stringent measures of repression had, therefore, to be

*(32) Vide *Bande Mataram*. April 14, 1908.
*(33) Vide the article on *Bande Mataram Prosecution* in the Weekly Edition of *Bande Mataram* Sept. 29, 1907.

adopted, but still they could not break the spirit of the new movement. True to itself, conscious of its destiny, regardless of the smiles and frowns of the bureaucracy, calm and dignified under provocation, *Bande Mataram* continued to preach with a "heart of fire and tongue of flame" the high ideal of firmness and fortitude, great service and self-immolating sacrifice for the country.

Severer Type of Patriotism Preached

Commenting on the proposed amendment of the Press Act, calculated to check seditious publications, *Bande Mataram* in its issue of February 24, 1908, observed: "Whatever may be the literary ability of the printers and publishers of these persecuted papers they thoroughly understand their mission and willingly offer themselves as sacrifices in spite of dissuasion, to keep alive this sort of patriotic literature in the country. They come forward out of a strong patriotic impulse and offer to shield ability behind their heroism to ensure the continuity of propagandist work according to their own ideas and ideals. Printers or publishers, theirs is the moral and legal responsibility for the dissemination of the ideas which are sought to be put down. These men are really the prophets and martyrs, and those for whose blood the Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucracy seem to be so thirsty are merely the dressers of their ideas. The new batch of printers and publishers who are rushing to jail one after another are not mere mercenary instruments, but young men fired with divine enthusiasm and heroic devotion to the cause of their country. Those who talk lightly of the printers and publishers of these alleged seditious papers should take note of this fact, and then judge if any severity of the Press Act can at all put an end to this sort of literature".

Referring to the trials and sufferings endured by the people under the repressive policy of the bureaucracy, *Bande Mataram* wrote: "We feel no doubt very strongly for those of our suffering countrymen who are bearing the brunt in the struggle. But we have no other consolation to offer to them than that sorrow is at once the lot, the trial, and the privilege of those who work for leaving their country better than they found it. There is no royal road, no safe path from misery to happiness, from darkness to light, from weakness to strength, from shame to glory. Without sacrifice we cannot rise, cannot hope to do anything in the world. Bengal seems to have realised the necessity of this sacrifice, and the clean record of those who have upto now been called to suffer for the country inspires both hope and faith"*(34). Again, lamenting "the feeble patriotism and wavering will of the Bengal Moderates and their Punjab supporters" as manifest in the Allahabad Convention of 1908, *Bande Mataram* called the Moderates "servants of the alien bureaucrat disguised as *patriots* to deceive and mislead people, enemies of Nationalism, foes of Indian independence who prefer the service of a foreign domination to the perils of a struggle for freedom". "The day of compromise", it wrote further, "is past. Frank, clear, and unmistakable, let the great issue stand for the country to decide as between the lovers of freedom and the lovers of servitude—between the men who palter with the demand of the Mother for whole-hearted service and those who have given all to her,—between the politicians and the martyrs—between the advocates of a contradiction and the preachers of the unadorned truth. On one side the cry is 'For India and Freedom'; on the other 'For India and the Bureaucracy' ". The same voice in *Bande*

*(34) Vide *Bande Mataram*, January 14, 1908.

Mataram declared that God cannot be truly served by half-hearted workers and the work before the Nationalists would be in the future of the sternest kind. "The hero, the martyr, the man of iron will and iron heart, the grim fighter whose tough nerves defeat cannot tire out nor danger relax, the born leader in action, the man who cannot sleep or rest while his country is enslaved, the priest of *Kali* who can tear his heart out of his body and offer it as a bleeding sacrifice on the Mother's altar, the heart of fire and the tongue of flame whose lightest word is an inspiration to self-sacrifice or a spur to action, for these the time is coming; the call will soon go forth...... For the battle is near and the trumpet ready for the signal"*(35).

Revolution Coming

The same sentiment was re-echoed by Aurobindo in *Bande Mataram* on April 29, 1908 in another remarkable editorial entitled "New Conditions" which was his last will and testament to the nation in the capacity of the editor of that nationalist organ. As govermental repression was mounting, Aurobindo felt more and more keenly with the unerring prophetic insight that the day of a world-shaking turmoil and a clash of forces was approaching. "The fair hopes of an orderly and peaceful evolution of self-government, which the first energies of the new movement had fostered, are gone for ever. Revolution, bare and grim, is preparing her battle-field mowing down the centres of order which were evolving a new cosmos and building up the materials of a gigantic downfall and a mighty new creation. We could have wished it otherwise, but God's will be done... An immense and incalculable revolution is at hand and its

*(35) In a remarkable editorial on "The Wheat and the Chaff" Aurobindo gave expression to these sentiments in *Bande Mataram* on April 23, 1908.

instruments must be themselves immense in their aspiration, uncalculating in their self-immolation. A sacrifice of which the mightiest *Yajna* of old can only be a feeble type and far-off shadow, has to be instituted and the victims of that sacrifice are ourselves, our lives, our property, our hopes, our ambitions, all that is personal and not of God, all that is devoted to our own service and taken from the service of the country. The greatest must fall as victims before the God of the sacrifice is satisfied"*(36). This was the last message that Aurobindo delivered to his country through *Bande Mataram,* for soon after this he was arrested and entangled in the Alipore Bomb Case (May 2, 1908) which dragged on its weary length until his acquittal a year later (June, 1909). In the meantime the Press Act was passed in 1908 and *Bande Mataram* fell victim to the wrath of a panic-stricken bureaucracy. The last issue of that epoch-making journal was published on October 29, 1908 under the editorial charge of Shyam Sundar Chakravarty, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh and Bejoy Chandra Chatterjee. Soon after that date the paper and press was suppressed and though the voice of *Bande Mataram* was silenced, its spirit could not be killed. The vision of the Mother had already been caught and "a great nation which has had that vision can never again bent its neck in subjection to the yoke of a conqueror".

The Last Message

On the 27th October, *Bande Mataram* in a powerful editorial on "Ourselves" observed: "The Bureaucracy mad with rage in its futile search for the master mind of *Bande Mataram* has decided to bring about its practical overthrow

*(36) Originally published as Leader in the daily *Bande Mataram* on April 29, 1908 and later reprinted in its Weekly Edition on May 3, 1908.

in other ways. *Bande Mataram* has raised the hymn of liberty and offended the powers that be..... *Bande Mataram* is a divine emanation, a vibration which was convulsing India, preparing her again for her self-expression by initiating mighty revolutions in her social, economic, and political life, long before it chose ourselves for its medium. It was in the air, it began its action, it set in motion forces long before it came to be delivered with our types and printing machines. There are junctures in the affairs of the world when new men are produced—the men of the moment, the men of the occasion, the men of destiny whose spirit attracts, unites and inspires, whose capacity is congenial to the crisis, whose power is equal to the convulsion—who are the outcome of the storm. Our people know whether *Bande Mataram* has incited them to murder or filled them with pure and noble impulses. The green sheet may or may not flutter to them in future but it has pointed them back to the true sources of inspiration—their beloved motherland with all her unparalled wealth of verdure. They will draw their inspiration from every blade of grass, they will have their life-blood warmed up by that blazing Indian sun who is beyond the reach of any order of confiscation. We do not mind what happens to us but let our country be spared the misery, the wrath, the hate, the spite and all that is compassed in the name of thrall".

CHAPTER II

SELECT EDITORIALS OF BANDE MATARAM

CONGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

B.M. DAILY, SEPT. 13, 1906

The principles of Democracy, so difficult to learn everywhere, are the most difficult to imbibe in a country that has been like ours, for so many centuries under foreign despotism. We are not therefore surprised at the autocratic ways of our own democratic leaders. Ever since the birth of the Congress, those who have been in the leadership of this great National Movement, have persistently denied the general public in the country, the right of determining what shall and what shall not be said or done on their behalf and in their name. The delegates have been gathered from all parts of the country not to deliberate upon public matters but simply to lend their support to the decisions that had already been arrived at by secret conclaves of half-a-dozen men. In the earlier years, the practical work of the Congress was done in an absolutely hole and corner way and the general body of the delegates had nothing else to do but to dance to the tune of Messrs Hume and Company, and the very birth of the institution now known as the Subjects Committee was due to a threat held out, twenty years ago, at the First Madras Congress, by a young delegate, to publicly defy the decisions of the coterie which prepared the programme of the Congress by asserting his right to move any resolution, he liked, before the Congress, leaving it to the delegates to accept or reject it as they pleased. It was to avoid the possibility of such scenes that the old

coterie had to abdicate their right to dictate to the Congress as to what it shall discuss and to accept the suggestion of leaving the settlement of the Congress programme to a representative Committee duly elected by the delegates present. This Subjects Committee is the only constitutional safeguard provided so far by the Congress against the exercise of autocratic power by any individual Congress man or any clique or coterie of the delegates. But, it has proved during the last twenty years to be more or less a paper safeguard and sometimes through impatience, occasionally even by open bullying, half-a-dozen men, led by the masterful personality of Pherozshah Mehta, have converted the Congress into practically a private concern. Presidents are selected from year to year without the slightest regard for the feelings and sentiments of the general body of Congress-men in the country, topics for discussion are selected and rejected just as they suit the wishes or offend the susceptibilities of these half-a-dozen men. It was thus that Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee came to be nominated for the Presidency of the Congress a second time, while Babu Kali Charan Banerjee another distinguished leader of Bengal, was kept out of it altogether. It was thus again that a younger and much less influential man in his own community like Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale came to be called to the President's chair of the Congress, while a man like Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak who holds a unique position in the country, both as a scholar and a leader of his people, than whom no man among us has made greater sacrifices or suffered more cruelly for his love ot his people, has not yet been thought of as a fit man for the Congress Presidency. Those who have attended the meetings of the Subjects Committee, know from bitter personal experience how almost impossible it is for any

man to get even a decent hearing from his colleagues on that Committee if his views did not fall in completely with those of the three or four gentlemen who have all these years usurped the guidance of the Congress. Neither so universally respected a leader like Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen of Berhampur, nor a man so universally loved of his people as Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal, nor so thoughtful a politician as Pundit Bishnu Narayan Dhar could get oftentimes a decent hearing from the three or four men who have practically kept the Congress apron-strings since Mr. Hume's departure from India. It is these men who, accustomed to run the show according to their sweet will and pleasure, have constantly obstructed every attempt to give a proper constitution to this great National Institution. Every year, for sometime past, this proposal has been pressed on the Subjects Committee and every year it has been shelved by being referred to a Committee whose want of ability or inclination to do the work entrusted to them had always been a foregone conclusion. In consequence of this autocracy, public interest in the actual work of the Congress has rapidly declined almost everywhere. Meetings for organising the work of the Congress can no longer be held for want of people willing to attend them. Delegates are, in most places, elected if it may be called an election at all by moribund, and, sometimes even, defunct organisations and it does not infrequently happen that half-a-dozen lawyers, meeting in a casual way at the local Bar Library elect thirty delegates from their district for the Congress and the superhuman feat is recorded by wire in the Daily papers as a crowded meeting where public enthusiasm for the Congress cause rose to white heat. The sham has continued far too long, the deceit has been practised upon the people far too frequently and shamelessly, and the time

has come when a new departure must be made if the Congress is to realise in any measure the promises of its early days. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the quickening of new ideals of civic life and patriotic duty in the country, and there is a desire among thinking people everywhere and more particularly in the mofussil districts of Bengal to utilise the Congress for the organisation of the new democratic spirit in the country and to do this work properly and well, the existing autocratic habits and tendencies in the present leadership of the Congress will have to be put down with a strong hand by means of an organised effort on the part of those who believe in democracy and have too sincere and strong a love for their country to hesitate to do the cruellest work for its sake.

That there is a growing desire in the country to place the Congress upon a sounder and more democratic and popular basis is evidenced by the meetings that are being held all over the country to have Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak elected as President of the coming session of the Congress in Calcutta. It will be the merest affectation to deny that these meetings are organised by the friends of the new party in this Province; we have no desire to conceal that fact. At the same time though the articulation of the sentiments that stand at the back of these demonstrations is due to outside stimulus, the genuineness of these sentiments cannot be honestly questioned, and the fact that these sentiments have been articulated in the face of a most disingenuous attempt by some people to thwart Mr. Tilak's nomination, speaks a great deal for the intensity of the feelings of the people towards Mr. Tilak. Baffled in secretly "appointing some harmless" man as President of the coming Congress the old leaders have been playing a new trick. The only man who could keep Tilak out is Mr. Dadabhai

Naoroji. Mr. Naoroji being asked, by whomsoever it may be, to come and guide our deliberations this year, Mr. Tilak, whom it would be difficult in any case to induce to accept the President's chair, would himself stoutly refuse to be nominated. It is clear from Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose's letter that the invitation to Mr. Naoroji has been given not in order to get Mr. Naoroji in but to keep Mr. Tilak out. We wonder what Mr. Naoroji's feelings will be when he learns as he certainly will, to what an unworthy use he has been put by the Calcutta autocracy.

THE RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS

B.M. DAILY, DEC. 31, 1906

The great Calcutta Congress, the centre of so many hopes and fears, is over. Of the various antagonistic or contending forces which are now being hurled together into that Medea's cauldron of confused and ever fiercer struggle out of which a free and regenerated India is to arise, each one had its own acute fears and fervent hopes for the results of this year's Congress. Anglo-India and Tory England feared that the extremists might capture the assembly, they hoped that a split would be created, and, as a result, the Congress either come to an end and land itself in the limbo of forgotten and abortive things or else, by the expulsion of the new life and the new spirit from its midst, sink into the condition of a dead-alive ineffectual body associated with the Government and opposing it now and then only for form's sake. Liberal England represented by the Cottons

and Wedderburns hoped that the unsustaining and empty concessions Mr. Morley is dangling before the eyes of the moderate leaders might bring back the Congress entirely into its old paths and the new spirit be killed by the show of kindness. It feared that the National Assembly might see through the deception and publicly demand that there should be either substantial concessions or none at all. In India itself the moderates feared that the forward party in Bengal might force through the Congress strong resolutions on Boycott and other alarming matters or else avenge their failure by wrecking the Congress itself but they hoped that by an imposing show of ex-presidents on the platform, by the reverence due to the age and services of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, by the dominant personality of the lion of the Bombay Corporation, by the strong contingents from Bombay city, Guzarat and other provinces still unswept by new brooms, by the use of tactics and straining in their favour all the advantages of an indefinite and nebulous constitution, they would quell the extremists, prevent the bringing forward of the boycott and keep absolute control of the Congress. The forward party hoped to leave the impress of the new thought and life on the Congress of 1906 to get entire self-government recognised as the ideal of the Congress and swadeshi and boycott as the means and to obtain a public recognition of the new ideas in the presidential address, but they feared that the realization of such considerable results would be too much to hope for in a single year and a fierce and prolonged struggle would be needed to overcome the combined forces of conservatism, timidity, self-distrust and self-interest, which have amalgamated into the loyalist moderate party. Such was the state of mind of the conflicting parties when the Calcutta Congress was opened on the 26th.

To-day on the 30th we can look back and count our gains and losses. The hopes of Anglo-India have been utterly falsified and the Anglo-Indian journals cannot conceal their rage and disappointment. The loudest in fury is our dear old perfervid *Englishman* which cries out in hollow tones of menace that if the Congress tolerates Boycott, the Congress itself will not be tolerated. The hopes and fears of Liberal England have been only partially fulfilled and partially falsified; the Congress has definitely demanded Colonial self-government and it has accepted the offered concessions of Mr. Morley only as steps towards that irreducible demand; the new spirit, instead of being killed by kidness, has declared in no uncertain voice its determination to live. The fears of the moderates have been falsified; no strongly worded resolutions have been passed: neither has the Congress been wrecked by the rapid development of contending parties in our midst. Their hopes too have been falsified, nothing was more remarkable in the present Congress than its anti-autocratic temper and the fiery energy with which it repudiated any attempt to be dictated to by the authority of recognised leaders. Charges of want of reverence and of rowdyism have been freely brought against this year's Congress. To the first charge we answer that the reverence has been transferred from persons to the ideal of the motherland; it is no longer Pherozsha Mehta or even Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji who can impose silence and acquiescence on the delegates of the nation by their presence and authority, for the delegates feel that they owe a deeper reverence and a higher duty to their country. Henceforth the leaders can only deserve reverence by acting in the spirit of the chief servants of their country and not in the spirit of masters and dictators. This change is one of the most genuine signs of political progress which we have observed

in our midst. The charge of rowdyism merely means that the Congress instead of a dead unanimity and mechanical cheers has this time shown lively signs of real interest and real feeling. It is ridiculous to contend that in a national assembly the members should confine themselves to signs of approval only and conceal their disapproval; in no public assembly in the world, having a political nature, is any such rule observed; and the mother of Parliaments itself is in the habit of expressing its disapproval with far greater vehemence than was done in this year's Congress. It was due to this growth of deep feeling and of the spirit of the independence that the spells on which the moderate leaders had depended failed of their power to charm. The lion of the Bombay Corporation found that a mightier lion than himself had been aroused in Bengal,—the people.

For ourselves, what have we to reckon as lost or gained? No strongly worded resolutions have been pressed and we are glad that none have been passed, for we believe in strong action and not in strong words. But our hopes have been realized, our contentions recognised if not always precisely in the form we desired or with as much clearness and precision as we ourselves would have used, yet definitely enough for all practical purposes. The Congress has declared self-government on colonial lines to be its demand from the British Government and this is only a somewhat meaningless paraphrase of autonomy or complete self-government. The Congress has recognised the legitimacy of the Boycott movement as practical in Bengal without limitation or reservation and in such terms that any other province which feels itself called upon to resort to this weapon in order to vindicate its rights, need not hesitate to take it up. The Congress has recognized the Swadeshi movement in its entirety including the adoption of a system

of self-protection by the people; within the scope of its resolution it has found room for the idea of self-help, the principle of self-sacrifice and the policy of the gradual exclusion of foreign goods. The Congress has recognized the necessity of national education. The Congress has recognised the necessity of a Constitution and adopted one as a tentative measure for a year, which, crude, meagre and imperfect as it is, depends only on our own efforts to develop by degrees into a working constitution worthy of a national assembly. All that the forward party has fought for, has in substance been conceded, except only the practice of recommending certain measures which depend on the Government for their realization; but this was not a reform on which we laid any stress for this particular session. We were prepared to give the old weakness of the Congress plenty of time to die out if we could get realities recognized. Only in one particular have we been disappointed and that is the President's Address. But even here the closing Address with which Mr. Naoroji dissolved the Congress, has made amends for the deficiencies of his opening speech. He once more declared self-government, *Swaraj*, as in an inspired moment he termed it, to be our one ideal and called upon the young men to achieve it. The work of the older men had been done in preparing a generation which were determined to have this great ideal and nothing less; the work of making the ideal a reality, lies with us. We accept Mr. Naoroji's call and to carry out his last injunctions will devote our lives and, if necessary, sacrifice them.

BUREAUCRACY AND NATIONALISM

B.M. WEEKLY ED., SEPT. 29, 1907.

One has only to look through the columns of the *Englishman* now-a-days to realise how Anglo-India is being insensibly led by the invisible hand of Fate in the way of the world's other despotisms that are now no more. The path along which the bureaucracy is now going is full of peril, beset with hidden foes who start up all around in ever widening circles at every step forward. Despotism depends for its existence and continuance on an undeveloped popular consciousness which is insensitive to the need for liberty. And so long as this continues, so long as a people are contented with the pursuit of life's other concerns, be they religion, wealth, learning or philanthrophy, without caring for a moment as to who may carry on the work of the Government, that government will remain either a monarchy or an aristocracy. The theory of the divine right of Kings or of the God-given right of the chosen few to rule over the many is then allowed to go unchallenged, and even gradually finds itself enshrined in the country's religion, literature and philosophy which invariably grow up at this stage of people's development in the immediate vicinity of the seat of political authority. But in the inevitable course of evolution which is only a materialised ethical process unfolding itself in its various phases through the different nations and races of the earth, there must come a time when a subject people awakens to a supreme sense of necessity for freedom, for the self-determination of its political problems and issues, as the only possible guarantee of its further progress in the world. The causes that bring this about may be few or many, external or

internal or both, but the conviction of "Liberty or Death" is bound to visit sometime or other every unfree nation that has not ceased to live. And then woe unto the monarch or the autocrat who strives to stem the tide of such national feeling.

The monarchies of Japan, China and Persia have saved themselves by their ready espousal of the cause of popular liberty. The Mikado, the Dowager-Empress and the Shah will remain permanent names in history, as the first and foremost examples of absolute rulers recognising the sacredness and the inevitableness of popular emancipation. They are the only monarchs who have not read history in vain and have had the humanity not to demand the life of those who were ready to lay it down at the altar of liberty.

This perhaps also serves to bring out the essential difference that there always has been between Asia and Europe. No great truth or idea has been able to win its way to victory in Europe without drenching the ground behind it with the blood of its votaries. Even to-day after the enfranchisement of the rest of Europe the Russian bureaucracy refuses with a stubborn blindness to abide by the lesson of history, and is fighting its ground inch by inch with the people, gloating over the flood of blood with which the country is over flooding. In Asia, on the other hand, no religious upheaval has ever had to count its Martyrs, and it is this same age-long innate and intense humanity of her sons—King and beggar alike—that has made the bloodless installation of liberty possible in three of her great countries.

And what about India then—Asia's most sacred land that has put on her brow the crown of immortality? She is in the clutches of a people who have always associated

the battle for liberty with the sight of the dead, with the groans of the dying and who cannot imagine a nation fit for freedom until it has braved relentless persecution and fought and killed its way to emancipation. Is it then absolutely unpreventible that India must go through the traditional blood-path before she is declared absolved of her sins and fit to enter the common shrine of humanity? Must she re-enact the Russian tragedy? This is the one question that presses for an adequate answer now.

We must always remember in this connexion that alien absolutism in this country depends helplessly on the co-operation of our own people. Let that co-operation be withdrawn and bureaucratic absolutism tumbles in like a house of cards. A very old discovery this, but it is only now that India seems to be within a measurable distance of actively grasping its significance. And it is this necessity of indigenous help and support on the part of the bureaucracy that renders a bloodless passage to liberty in India perhaps possible. If every Indian were filled with a passionate intolerance of arbitrary rule in his country, then absolutism could be brought to the dust in a day. In any case this possibility must be thoroughly exploited and exhausted before the preacher of the ideal of liberty can have reason to confess its failure. Let him who can speak and him who can write bring this message incessantly to his countrymen.

It is because the bureaucracy has scented danger in the strenuous preaching of the gospel of liberty, that it has entered upon its policy of repression and deceptive reform. And the results that have followed are rich with promise. The bureaucracy seems to be alawys in the wrong; if it lets will alone, the work of the Nationalist proceeds by leaps and bounds, if it tries to hamper speech and writing, it brings into birth a responsive energy that

wells up above and beyond the reach of its repressive powers. The work of familiarising the nation with the need for liberty, therefore, bids fair to go on in spite of all that the bureaucracy has yet been able to do; in fact it seems to have advanced more quickly and extensively since the initiation of the regime of repression.

The secret of it lies in the fact, as we have so often said, that the mind of the people has long been in a state of preparation for liberty; what the Nationalist preacher tells them articulates a latent longing of their hearts; and it is therefore that every act of bureaucratic persecution wins for us thousands of hearts, and people willingly listen in increasing numbers to the message of liberty as the message of their salvation. And if the bureaucracy only remains true to its work of persecuting those who insist on the primary importance of freedom, there will soon be only two parties in the country, the people with their persecuted leaders *vs.* the bureaucrats with their thirty thousand civil servants and seventy thousand soldiers and we almost forgot the handful of signatories to the loyalist manifesto.

As we have said at the beginning the bureaucracy is on a fair way towards this situation. We learn from the *Englishman* that officialdom is finding itself unable to collect evidence against those who are brought up for trial in Swadeshi cases. Does not this one fact justify the hope that the day is fast coming when the Government will be met by the refusal of every Indian to associate himself with it in every act of anti-Swadeshism? The *Englishman* of Saturday simply bristles with similar other news of the bureaucracy's acts and intentions whose one inevitable effect can only be the furtherance of dissociation between itself and the people. And those who have taken note of

the extreme rapidity with which the situation has been developing day by day will not be surprised to find the line of cleavage apearing definitely within a very short time—the cleavage between the bureaucracy on one side and the people on the other.

"BANDE MATARAM" PROSECUTION

B.M. WEEKLY ED., SEPT. 29, 1907

The prosecution of the *Bande Mataram*, the most important of the numerous Press prosecutions recently instituted by the bureaucracy, commenced with a flourish of trumpets, eagerly watched by a hopeful Anglo-Indian Press, has ended in the most complete and dismal fiasco such as no Indian Government has ever had to experience before in a sedition case. The failure has not been the result of any lukewarmness or half-heartedness in the conduct of the prosecution or any unwillingness to convict on the part of the trying Magistrate. The police left no stone unturned to get a particular man convicted, the Standing Counsel did not hesitate to press every possible point and make the most of every stray scrap or faint shadow of evidence against the accused, the Magistrate was a Civilian Magistrate whose leanings have never been concealed, the same who gave two years to the *Yugantar* Printer, who sent Bepin Pal before a subservient Bengali Magistrate with a plain hint to give him a heavy punishment, who

sentenced Sushil Kumar to fifteen stripes, who brushed aside the evidence of barristers in favour of Police testimony, and every paragraph of whose judgment in the present case shows that he would readily have dealt out a handsome term of hard labour if the evidence had afforded him the slightest justification for a conviction. All the winning cards in the game are in the hands of the bureaucracy in such a trial. They can command the best legal knowledge in the country, they have a detective and secret service system which for political purposes is popularly supposed to be second only in its elaborateness to the Russian, they have their own servants sitting on the bench to try a case in which they are deeply interested, there is no trouble about juries who might be unwilling to convict, the Police have unlimited powers of search and can even turn the Post Office into a branch of the detective department, their methods of discovering witnesses are various and effective; yet with all this they were unable to bring forward a single scrap of convincing evidence to prove that the particular man they were bent on running down was the Editor. The Magistrate in his judgment and the affectionate friend of India in Chowringhee in his comments have drawn from this failure the lesson that the laws against the freedom of the Press should be made more stringent. An ordinary unilluminated intelligence would have come rather to the conclusion that the executive authorities would do well to reform their method of instituting proceedings in a political trial.

The one important lesson of the *Bande Mataram* case is the light which it throws on the spirit in which the bureaucracy have been instituting the political prosecutions and persecutions which have latterly seemed to be their only reason of existence. This spirit has been exposed in a

lurid and sensational manner in the Comilla case when an innocent man with difficulty escaped the gallows to which a political prosecution had condemned him. But in the *Bande Mataram* case also there has been a less sensational though sufficient exposure of the same sinister spirit. What has been the whole meaning and aim of this prosecution? Certainly not an honest impartial desire to vindicate outraged law and check without personal animus or any purely political aim, a wanton tendency to disturb the public tranquillity, which would be the only excuse for a sedition prosecution. It has been an obvious attempt to crush a particular paper and a particular individual. The bureaucracy has sought to cripple or silence the *Bande Mataram* because it has been preaching with extraordinary success a political creed which was dangerous to the continuance of bureaucratic absolutism and was threatening to become a centre of strength round which many Nationalistic forces might gather. It has sought to single out and silence a particular individual because it chose to think that he was, as the *Friend of India* expresses it, the master mind behind the policy of the paper. If we are challenged to justify this assertion, it will be sufficient to point to the conduct of this case from its very inception. The *Bande Mataram* has been for over a year attacking without fear and without disguise the present system of Government and advocating a radical and revolutionary change. It has advocated that change on grounds of historical experience, the first principles of politics and the necessity of national self-preservation. It has not minced matters or sought to conceal revolutionary aspirations under the veil of moderate professions or ambiguous phraseology. It has not concealed its opinion that the bureaucracy cannot be expected to transfer itself, that the people of India and

not the people of England must save India, and that we cannot hope for any boons but must wrest what we desire by strong national combination from unwilling hands. Hundreds of articles have appeared in the paper in this vein and the bureaucrats had only to pick and choose. But they have not attacked one of these articles, nor did their Counsel venture to cite even a single one of them to prove seditious intention. The fact is that however dangerous such a propaganda may be to an absolutist handful desiring to perpetuate their irresponsible rule no government pretending to call itself civilised can prosecute it as seditious without forfeiting all claim to the last vestige of the world's respect. But though the paper could not be characterised as seditious, it was highly inconvenient, and there was a growing clamour which extended even to the cloudy home of the thunderer in London, for its prosecution and, if possible, suppression And so watch is kept to find the paper tripping over some trifle, for which it can be hauled up and got into trouble on a side issue. What is the matter for which the *Bande Mataram* was prosecuted? A reprint of the official translations of certain articles from a vernacular paper, translations issued as part of a case in the law-courts and reproduced as such,—that is one count; and an insignificant correspondence which does not even profess to give voice to the policy of the paper—that is the second and third; and there is no other. The *Yugantar* was prosecuted on articles expressing its essential policy; the *Sandhya* has been proceeded against on articles expressing its views on important matters; but it was sought to crush the *Bande Mataram* partly for a technical offence and partly on a side-issue. So eagerly, so carelessly is the casual chance given snatched at that the executive do not even trouble to know what is the article

on which action is being taken; they give sanction to prosecute on an advertisement in the righthand corner of the paper, and but for the compassionate correction vouchsafed by an officer of the company the mistake would have had to be rectified in the course of the trial itself. Sanction is given to posecute a nameless Editor and the police at once proceed to ask for a warrant against Aurobindo Ghose. It is in evidence that they had nothing better to go on than hearsay. But they had no hesitation in immediately pouncing on one particular writer of the *Bande Mataram* without possessing the least scrap of evidence against him. Obviously they cannot have done this without instructions. It was popularly believed that Srijut Aurobindo Ghose was all in all on the *Bande Mataram* staff, that all the best articles were written by him, that he gave the tone of the paper and that it could not last without him. Why did the police take a body-warrant against Aurobindo Ghose to the office and why, having taken it, did they not arrest him? Obviously they took it because they thought that they would find plenty of evidence against him in the search, and they did not execute it because they found that not a scrap of proof rewarded their efforts. After that there was a pause till Anukul Mukherjee's testimony was secured, and on that flimsy evidence the trial was started. Had it been honestly intended to deal only with the Editor, whoever he might turn out to be, the proceedings against Aurobindo Ghose would have been given up, but the police made no secret of the fact that it was this one man who was wanted and that no other, whatever the evidence against him, would be thought worth capture. Even when the case for the prosecution was complete without any evidence fit to raise more than a flimsy presumption the Standing Counsel would not give up, but in an outrageous

address in which he rode roughshod over the higher traditions of his office, pressed weak points and wrested ambiguous evidence to get the charge framed. And after Anukul had broken down in cross-examination and made admissions fatal to their case, still the prosecution struggled for a verdict. And with what result? Even a Civilian Magistrate willing to support the prestige of the government had more sense of law and justice than the bureaucracy and its advisers and was able to see that a man could not be sent to two years' rigorous imprisonment without any shadow of evidence. Their prey escaped them; the Manager who seems to have been arrested on spec. and tried without even any pretence that there was any evidence against him was acquitted, and only an unfortunate Printer who knew no English and had no notion what all the pother was about, was sent to prison for a few months to vindicate the much-damaged majesty of the almighty bureaucracy.

THE NAGPUR AFFAIR & TRUE UNITY

B.M., WEEKLY ED., OCT. 27, 1907

The Nagpur Nationalists are now being run down in every quarter for having failed to work in unison with the Moderates. The cause of rupture as disclosed by the "Indin Social Reformer", a hostile critic of the Nationalist Party, will convince every right-thinking man that the Nationalists had ample provocation for what is being denounced as a highly reprehensible conduct on their part.

They had a Nationalist majority in Executive Committee and the Moderates were arranging for a fresh meeting of the Reception Committee to alter this state of things. This unconstitutional step led to the subsequent unpleasant development. It is very difficult to disentangle the truth from the apparently exaggerated reports of "Nationalist rowdyism" of which so much has been heard of late. But we have a suspicion that it is the wonted game of the Moderates to have it all their own way and then to try to discredit the opponents by making them responsible to the country for the disunion and dissension in the camp. Why do they not adopt a straightforward course from the very beginning? It is they who stand in the way of a united India by denying a fair representation to those who hold advanced political views. They always want the Nationalists to compromise their principle by an appeal in the name of unity. But their selfishness and autocracy never allow them to reflect on the true way of achieving unity.

There is a cant phrase which is always on our lips in season and out of season, and it is the cry for unity. We call it a cant phrase because those who use it, have not the slightest conception of what they mean, when they use it, but simply employ it as an effective formula to discourage independence in thought and progressiveness in action. It is not the reality of united thought and action which they desire, it is merely the appearance of unity. "Do not let the Englishmen think we are not entirely at one on any and every question," that is the bottom idea underlying this formula. It is a habit of mind born of the spirit of dependence and weakness. It is a fosterer of falsehood and encourages cowardice and insincerity. Be your views what they may, suppress them, for they will spoil our unity; swallow

your principles, they will spoil our unity; do not battle for what you think to be the right, it will spoil our unity; leave necessary things undone, for the attempt to do them will spoil our unity; this is the cry. The prevalence of a dead and lifeless unity is the true index of national degradation, quite as much as the prevalence of a living unity is the index of national greatness. So long as India was asleep and only talking in its dreams, a show of unity was possible, but the moment it awoke and began to live, this show was bound to be broken. So long as mendicancy was our method and ideal, the show was necessary, for a family of beggars must not vary in its statements or in the nature of its request to the prospective patron; they must cringe and whine is a single key. Under other circumstances, the maintenance of the show becomes of less paramount importance.

There is another idea underlying the cry for unity and it is the utterly erroneous impression that nations have never been able to liberate themselves and do great deeds unless they were entirely and flawlessly united within. History supplies no justification for this specious theory. On the contrary when a nation is living at high pressure and feelings are at white heat, opinions and actions are bound to diverge far more strongly than at other times. In the strenuous times before the American War of Independence, the colony was divided into a powerful minority who were wholly for England, a great hesitating majority who were eager for internal autonomy but unwilling to use extreme methods and a small but vigorous minority of extremists with men like John Adams at their head who pushed the country into revolt and created a nation. The history of the Italian revolution tells the same story. We are fond of quoting the instance of Japan, pointing to its

magnificent unity and crying shame on ourselves for falling below that glorious standard; but those of us who talk most of Japan often betray a sovereign ignorance of its history. Nowhere was there a more keen, determined and murderous struggle between parties than in Japan in the days of its preparation, and the struggle was not over the ultimate ideal or object—the freedom and greatness of Japan, on which all parties were agreed, but on questions of method and internal organisation. Until that question as between the moderate Shogun party and the extremist Mikado party had been settled, it was felt by all that the approach to the ultimate ideal of all could not be seriously attempted.

True national unity is the unity of self-dedication to the country when the liberty and greatness of our motherland is the paramount consideration to which all others must be subordinated. In India at the present hour there are three conflicting ideals; one party set the maintenance of British supremacy above all other considerations; another would maintain that supremacy in a modified form; a third aspires to make India a free and autonomous nation; connected with England, if it may be, but not dependent on her. Until one of these conflicting ideals is accepted by the majority of the nation, it is idle to make a show of unity. That was possible formerly because the ideal of a modified British supremacy was the prevailing ideal, but now that new hopes and resolves are entering the national consciousness, these must either be crushed or prevail, before true unity of a regenerated nation can replace the false unity of acquiescence in servitude.

THE NEW FAITH

B.M. WEEKLY ED., DEC. 1, 1907

The political struggle in India is entering on a new phase; and now that the Nationalists have been given a foretaste of its persecuting ability, the bureaucracy is making an awkward attempt to patch up a reconciliation with the Moderate leaders. The olive branch has been already held out; Lala Lajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh have been released, and vague rumours of other conciliatory measures are in the air. Press prosecutions, deportations and police hooliganism have done their work. It is now fondly believed that Nationalism is crushed and what remains is but to exchange a complimentary smile with Moderate politicians and swear eternal peace and good will. The bureaucracy has acted its part well; and in fact we expected from it no less, no more. But what the country is eagerly waiting to see is, whether those who profess to guide public opinion will forfeit their leadership and swallow the bait. They may hail with delight the relaxation of stringent measures and offer loud assurances of good will but they will have lost the authority of doing it in the name of the people.

The centre of authority has been shifted during the recent popular upheaval. The nation has become self-conscious and knows its mission, and individuals, however gifted and influential, will not be allowed to pass off their own opinions for those of the people. The real issue at stake has been revealed. All compromise is now out of the question, and Freedom's battle once begun must be carried on to the bitter end. The tortures undergone by the people have been for them an initiation in the worship of liberty,

and if their sufferings have been great, the energy of their rising will be equally so. They have now learnt a truth with every tear and every month of their suffering has been for them a preparation for complete redemption. Will they now tolerate men who have no faith in popular strength and who have never understood the genius of the country to trifle with their sorrows and act as their spokesmen before the alien bureaucracy? These leaders have never had sufficient insight to perceive that it is not strength but the consciousness of strength that we lacked in the past; and now that the struggle with opposing forces has evoked the national consciousness, it is too late to talk of a compromise. Compromise here cannot be from the very nature of the case, for it is not a question of removing particular grievances and setting the machinery of government in order, but of changing our political status as a nation. Decentralization Commissions and Advisory Councils can help us no longer. Even in the midst of the din and bustle of the struggle, the people have caught a glimpse of the glorious future and they will not be easily accessible to discouragement.

The bureaucracy will not have to reckon this time with a few self-styled leaders who are only too eager to fall down and worship the idol of the hour, but with a newly-awakened people to whom the political freedom of the country has been elevated to the height of a religious faith. The mist that clouded their intellect for ages has at least partially cleared away; and they have begun to feel that if only they will, they can and therefore ought to make themselves in their own country what other nations are in theirs. The political strife has assumed a religious character, and the question now before the people is whether India—the India of the holy Rishis, the India that gave

birth to a Rama, a Krishna and a Buddha, the India of Sivaji and Guru Gobinda—is destined for ever to lie prostrate at the proud feet of a conqueror. Are we going to sacrifice our national destiny to the whims and interest of the foreigner or are we again to take ourselves seriously and struggle for the right to live that we may fulfil in this world our Heaven-appointed mission? It is well to state clearly the real nature of the issue, for no nation has been regenerated by a lie. Those who want liberty must buy it for themselves, and it is poor statesmanship to try to hide the real nature of the struggle by a falsehood which, after all, deceives nobody and least of all our alien lords. Plain speaking may be unpalatable and persecutions may follow, but persecutions have never yet killed a religious faith and a self-conscious India is too mighty a power to be put down by a despot's rod. Persecutions do not crush but only fortify conviction and no power on earth can exterminate the seed of liberty when it has once germinated in the blood of earnest and sincere men.

The days of timid dabblers in politics are over and men who have no faith in enthusiasm and who cannot believe in anything beyond the cold calculations of diplomacy by which they have been a thousand times bought and sold and who cannot believe in the possibility of uniting the people in a single aim and purpose have no more business to loiter in the political field. They have no right to assume the direction of an enterprise, they are incapable of grasping or conceiving in its entirety. Those hugely credulous worthies who have still the heart to lend their ears to the siren voice of a Morley, have never understood the true way to salvation, and dismayed by the greatness of the undertaking, have contented themselves by scoffing

at an enthusiasm they extinguished by their timidity and hesitation.

But every error they have committed has served as a stepping-stone to truth. The effect of their accumulated errors has been to dispel the illusion and new circumstances to-day have called forth new men, men untramelled by old habits and systems, men in whom the great ideal is incarnate, who have realized that the true secret of power is faith, who know that true virtue is sacrifice and that the true policy is to prove one's self strong.

To them belongs the future. The line of work is to mix with the masses and to organise and reduce to a system the ideas and aspirations now scattered and disseminated. They will put their trust in the nation and they will make all compromise impossible till the Indian soil is free.

MORE ABOUT UNITY

B.M. WEEKLY ED., DEC. 8, 1907

The *Bengalee* has again returned to the charge about unity. The line of argument adopted by our contemporary savours strongly of the peculiar style of political thinking which underlay all our movements in the last century. The old school of politics was chiefly remarkable for a blithe indifference to facts and an extraordinary predilection for vague abstractions which could not possibly apply to the conditions with which our political action had to deal. The

nineteenth century Indan politician never cared to study history, but used a readymade and high-sounding philosophy of politics based chiefly on the circumstances and conditions of modern English politics which had no validity at all for India. The result of this divorce from real life was a tendency to use words without caring to consider their real practical meaning. We find the *Bengalee* in its article learnedly repeating these old mistakes. It builds wordy arguments from the terms of modern Science without grasping the true facts and hard realities of life without a knowledge of which the terms cannot be correctly applied. It argues from evolution that progress is an ever-increasing unity of ever-developing parts, that therefore progress is nothing but unity, freedom is nothing but unity, greatness is nothing but unity, ergo unity is not a means but an end, not an important or necessary help to arriving at progress, freedom and greatness but itself at once progress, freedom and greatness. This is merely playing with words. The question is what is this unity which the *Bangalee* makes so much of and which it asks to prefer to our principles and in its name to join in action which we believe to be harmful to the country? If our contemporary means political unity, the formation of all the communities and races in the country into a single political organism with a common centre of life, that is certainly, as we have already admitted, a necessary condition of independence and greatness; but it is a thing of the future which is impossible so long as the centre of life in the country is alien and external, and all we can do toward it is to unite people of all communities and races is one common struggle to replace the alien and external centre of political life by an indigenous and internal centre in the national organism itself. Very good, but the question still remains, by what method can that

result be attained? We believe the methods proposed by the Loyalist to be futile and injurious, we understand their aim to be not the independence of the national organism, but an impossible scheme of two centres of political life controlling the country at the same time of which the alien shall be supreme and yet the indigenous shall be free! What the *Bengalee* asks of us is to disregard this vital difference of opinion and aim and be united,—in what? In aiming at an object which we believe to be absurd, by means which we believe to be futile. It does not matter, says the *Bengalee*, in what we are united, so long as we are united; for unity is progress, unity is freedom and greatness. So that if we are united in petitioning we are by the very fact of that unity free and great! The error of the *Bengalee's* argument is that it confuses political unity, which is a necessary condition of independence, with unity of opinion and action which is an immense help, if the opinion and the action are in the right direction, but certainly not indispensable. It is not true that unity, even political unity, is identical with freedom, for a nation may be united in bondage or united in submission to a foreign and absolutist rule. Still less is it true that unity in following the wrong road is the true means to the goal, much less the goal itself. We tried to prove from History that nations had been made free not by a scrupulous pursuit of unanimity or of unity in action but by faith, energy and courage in a number of its more energetic sons carrying away the bulk of the nation into a strenuous effort to reach a great ideal. For the sake of brevity we gave one instance where we might have given a dozen. The *Bengalee*, however, like all Moderate politicians will have nothing to do with history or at least with the facts of history. History, it says in effect, is a record of human error, and

the methods of which it tells us, involve great waste. So we in India are to invent something brandnew, an ingenious and carefully calculated method of revolution which will bring us freedom and greatness without any waste, without any risk, by a minimum expenditure of trouble, disturbance and sacrifice. We fear he has left out of consideration the fact that waste also is one of Nature's methods, indeed that what we call waste is one of the most subtle parts of her economy. No man or nation that refused to venture hugely like a gambler for huge ends ever arrived at freedom, none who has not been prodigal of his best has ever risen to greatness, and what has been in the past will be in the future; for human nature and the laws of human action remain the same, and cannot be newshaped in Colootola. Politics is for the *Kshatriya* and in the *Kshatriya* spirit alone can freedom and greatness be attained, not by the spirit of the *Baniya* trying to buy freedom in the cheapest market and beat down the demands of Fate to a miser's niggard price. That which other nations have paid for freedom we also must pay, the path they have followed we also must follow. And if you will not learn from History, you will have to be taught by a harsher teacher the same lesson and taught perhaps at a much more tremendous price than that which you stigmatise as waste We Nationalists have no desire to break the Congress or to part company with our less forward countrymen, but we have our path to follow and our work to do, and if you will not allow us a place in the assembly you call National, we will make one for ourselves out of it and around it, until one day you will find us knocking at your doors with the nation at our back and in the name of an authority even you will not dare to deny.

THE GLORY OF GOD IN MAN

B.M. WEEKLY ED., MARCH 1, 1908

Whoever is still under the influence of intellectual pride, is shocked when people depreciate the reason as the supreme guide. He asks how is it possible for a man of culture to depreciate the reason and exalt some extraneous influence like that which people call God? But these doubters are under the influence of European materialism which tries to confine man to his material portion and deny him the possibility of a divine origin and a divine destiny. When Europe left Christianity to the monk and the ascetic and forgot the teachings of the Galilean, she exposed herself to a terrible fate which will yet overtake her. God in man is the whole revelation and the whole of religion. What Christianity taught dimly, Hinduism made plain to the intellect in Vedanta. When India remembers the teaching she received from Shankaracharya, Ramanuja and Madhava, when she realises what Sri Ramkrishna came to reveal, then she will rise. Her very life is Vedanta.

If anyone thinks that we are merely intellectual beings, he is not a Hindu. Hinduism leaves the glorification of intellectuality to those who have never seen God. She is commissioned by Him to speak only of his greatness and majesty and she has so spoken for thousands of years. When we first received a European education, we allowed ourselves to be misled by the light of science. Science is a light within a limited room, not the sun which illumines the world. The *Apara Vidya* is the sum of science but there is a *higher Vidya,* a mightier knowledge. When we are under the influence of the lower knowledge, we imagine

that we are doing everything and try to reason out the situation we find ourselves in, as if our intellect were sovereign and omnipotent. But this is an attitude of delusion and *maya*. Whoever has once felt the glory of God within him can never again believe that the intellect is supreme. There is a higher voice, there is a more unfailing oracle. It is in the heart where God resides. He works through the brain, but the brain is only one of his instruments. Whatever the brain may plan, the heart knows first and whoever can go beyond the brain to the heart, will hear the voice of the Eternal. This is what Srijut Aurobindo Ghose said in his Bombay speech. But our contemporary, the *Indian Patriot*, has lamented his downfall from the high pedestal of culture he once occupied. Our contemporary has forgotten the teachings of Vivekananda which were once so powerful in Madras. What does he think was the cause of the great awakening in Bengal.

When Lord Curzon thought to rend Bengal asunder, he deprived her of all her old pride and reliance upon her intellectual superiority. She had thought to set her wits against British power; and believed that the intellect of her sons would be a match for the clumsy brains of the English statesmen. Lord Curzon showed her that Power is too direct and invincible to be outwitted. The brains of Bengal did their best to cope with him and they failed. No course remained open to Bengal which her intellect could suggest. But when she was utterly reduced to despair, the time came for her own power to awake and set itself against that of the foreigner. She flung aside the devices of the Greek and took on herself the majesty of Roman strength and valour. When she declared the Boycott, she did so without calculation, without reckoning chances, without planning how the Boycott could succeed. She simply declared it. Was the

intellect at work when she declared it? Was it her leaders who planned it as a means of bringing the British to their knees?

Everybody knows that it was not so. It was Kishoregunj, it was Magura, the obscure villages and towns of East Bengal which first declared the Boycott. What brain planned it, what voice first uttered it, history will never be able to discover. None planned it, but it was in the heart of the nation and God revealed it. If human brains had thought over the matter, Boycott would never have been declared. Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal is the most powerful brain at present at work in Bengal, but Srijut Bepin Chandra has himself often related that he was opposed to the Boycott in its inception, because his intellect refused to assent to the economic possibility of Boycott. So with all the men who were then the recognised brains and voices of Bengal. Only the nation had Boycott in their hearts and the heart of Bengal refused to be silenced by its brain. So Boycott was declared. Had the *Indian Patriot* been the mouthpiece of Bengal it would have asked for a plan of operations. But what plan of operations could have been given? So we see from this one great example what Srijut Aurobindo Ghose meant when he said that it was God's work and not man's. If the *Indian Patriot* can show us who planned the Boycott, or how it has been guided to success by human intellect, we will accept his view of things. Meanwhile, we shall take leave to approve of the view expressed by Srijut Aurobindo Ghose. God is behind this movement and He does not need anyone to tell Him how to bring it to success. He will see to that Himself. Whatever plans we may make, we shall find quite useless when the time for action comes. Revolutions are always full of surprises, and whoever thinks he can play chess with

a revolution will soon find how terrible is the grasp of God and how insignificant the human reason before the whirlwind of His breath. That man only is likely to dominate the chances of a Revolution, who makes no plans but preserves his heart pure for the will of God to declare itself. The great rule of life is to have no schemes but one unalterable purpose. If the will is fixed on the purpose it sets itself to accomplish, then circumstances will suggest the right course; but the schemer finds himself always tripped up by the unexpected.

THE ASIATIC ROLE

B.M., WEEKLY ED., APRIL 12, 1908

The genius of the Hindu is not for pure action, but for thought and aspiration realized in action, the spirit premeditating before the body obeys the inward command. The life of the Hindu is inward and his outward life aims only at reproducing the motions of his spirit. This intimate relation of his thought and his actions is the secret of his perpetual vitality. His outward life, like that of other nations, is subject to growth and decay, to periods of greatness and periods of decline, but while other nations have a limit and a term, he has none. Whenever death claims his portion, the Hindu race takes refuge in the source of all immortality, plunges itself into the fountain of spirit and comes out renewed for a fresh term of existence.

The elixir of national life has been discovered by India alone. This immortality, this great secret of life, she has treasured up for thousands of years, until the world was fit to receive it. The time has now come for her to impart it to the other nations, who are now on the verge of decadence and death. The peoples of Europe have carried material life to its farthest expression, the science of bodily existence has been perfected, but they are suffering from diseases which their science is powerless to cure. England with her practical intelligence, France with her clear logical brain, Germany with her speculative genius, Russia with her emotional force, America with her commercial energy have done what they could for human development, but each has reached the limit of her peculiar capacity. Something is wanting which Europe cannot supply. It is at this juncture that Asia has awakened because the world needed her. Asia is the custodian of the world's peace of mind, the physician of the maladies which Europe generates. She is commissioned to rise from time to time from her ages of self-communion, self-sufficiency, self-absorption and rule the world for a season so that the world may come and sit at her feet to learn the secrets she alone has to give. When the restless spirit of Europe has added a new phase of discovery to the evolution of the science of material life, has regulated politics, rebased society, remodelled law, rediscovered science, the spirit of Asia, calm, contemplative, self-possessed, takes possession of Europe's discovery and corrects its exaggerations, its aberrations by the intention, the spiritual light she alone can turn upon the world. When Greek and Roman had exhausted themselves, the Arab went out from his desert to take up their unfinished task, revivify the civilisation of the old world and impart the profounder impulses of Asia to the pursuit

of knowledge. Asia has always initiated, Europe completed. The strength of Europe is in details, the strength of Asia in synthesis. When Europe has perfected the details of life or thought, she is unable to harmonize them into a perfect symphony and she falls into intellectual heresies, practical extravagances which contradict the facts of life, the limits of human nature and the ultimate truths of existence. It is therefore the office of Asia to take up the work of human evolution when Europe comes to a standstill and loses itself in a clash of vain speculations, barren experiments and helpless struggles to escape from the consequences of her own mistakes. Such a time has now come in the world's history.

In former ages India was a sort of hermitage of thought and peace apart from the world. Separated from the rest of humanity by her peculiar geographical conformation, she worked out her own problems and thought out the secrets of existence as in a quiet *asram* from which the noise of the world was shut out. Her thoughts flashed out over Asia and created civilisations, her sons were the bearers of light to the peoples; philosophies based themselves on stray fragments of her infinite wisdom; sciences arose from the waste of her intellectual production. When the barrier was broken and nations began to surge through the Himalayan gates, the peace of India departed. She passed through centuries of struggle, of ferment in which the civilisations born of her random thoughts returned to her developed and insistent, seeking to impose themselves on the mighty mother of them all. To her they were the reminiscences of her old intellectual experiments laid aside and forgotten. She took them up, re-thought them in a new light and once more made them part of herself. So she dealt with the Greek, so with the Scythian,

so with Islam, so now she will deal with the great brood of her returning children, with Christianity, with Buddhism, with European science and materialism, with the fresh speculations born of the world's renewed contact with the source of thought in this ancient cradle of religion, science and philosophy. The vast amount of new matter which she has to absorb, is unprecedented in her history, but to her it is child's play. Her all-embracing intellect, her penetrating intuition, her invincible originality are equal to greater tasks. The period of passivity when she listened to the voices of the outside world is over. No longer will she be content merely to receive and reproduce, even to receive and improve. The genius of Japan lies in imitation and improvement, that of India in origination. The contributions of outside peoples she can only accept as rough material for her immense creative faculty. It was the mission of England to bring this rough material to India, but in the arrogance of her material success she presumed to take upon herself the *role* of a teacher and treated the Indian people partly as an infant to be instructed, partly as a serf to be schooled to labour for its lords. The farce is played out. England's mission in India is over and it is time for her to recognise the limit of the lease given to her. When it was God's will that she should possess India, the world was amazed at the miraculous case of the conquest and gave all the credit to the unparalleled genius and virtues of the English people, a fiction which England was not slow to encourage and on which she has traded for over a century. The real truth is suggested in the famous saying that England conquered India in a fit of absence of mind, which is only another way of saying that she did not conquer it at all. It was placed in her hands without her realising what was being done or how

it was being done. The necessary conditions were created for her, her path made easy, the instruments given into her hands. The men who worked for her were of comparatively small intellectual stature and with few exceptions did not make and could not have made any mark in European history where no special Providence was at work to supplement the deficiencies of the instruments. The subjugation of India is explicable neither in the ability of the men whose names figure as the protagonists nor to the superior genius of the conquering nation nor in the weakness of the conquered people. It is one of the standing miracles of history. In other words, it was one of those cases in which a particular mission was assigned to a people not otherwise superior to the rest of the world and a special *foustitas* or decreed good fortune set to watch over the fulfilment of the mission. Her mission once over, the angel of the Lord who stood by England in her task and removed opponents and difficulties with the waving of his hand, will no longer shield her. She will stay so long as the destinies of India need her and not a day longer, for it is not by her own strength that she came or is still here, and it is not by her own strength that she can remain. The resurgence of India is begun, it will accomplish itself with her help, if she will, without it if she does not, against it if she opposes.

THE WORK BEFORE US

B.M., WEEKLY ED., APRIL 12, 1908

The little that we have done is the first faint shadowing forth of our future activities, nothing more. If we are content with what we have done, even that little will disappear, the movement will be abortive and the country fall back into its former condition. It is therefore necessary to give a new impetus to the movement everywhere, and now that Srijut Bepin Chandra is out of prison, the necessary will no doubt be done. The first work is to revive courage in the hearts of the people. The effect of the recent repression has been not to crush the movement, but to discourage its outward activity. This discouragement must be removed. We cannot allow the movement to be driven inward and become an affair of secret societies and terrorism as it will inevitably become if the outward expression of it is stopped. The next work is to give a stronger impetus to the boycott, so that the little that we have gained may become the starting point for fresh victories; the organisation of boycott is the first work to which we should set our hands. The third thing to be done is to spread National Education. A serious effort must be made to take in hand the raising of funds for this branch of national activity, so that the National Council may be in a position both to effect the complete organisation of its scientific, technical and other sides and to extend aid to the increasing number of schools which are springing up all over the country. It is also necessary to bring the existing primary schools under the Council; for this is a work of great importance, and until it is done, the foundations of the new educational edifice will not be secure.

since it is the primary schools in which the bulk of the people are educated. If the present institutions will not come into the new system, the country must be covered with a net work of new primary schools on national lines, such as the one which is now being projected at Uttarpara,—schools giving a primary literary education along with such technical instruction as will enable the students to earn a livelihood as small artisans. If this is done, the public will flock into the national institutions and the old primary schools will perish.

So much is necessary for the completion of the work for which we have already laid a foundation, but the time has come when we should start actively on fresh lines. The most important of these is arbitration, which will, if successfully carried out, form the basis of our future self-government. Education will give us the necessary training of mind and character for self-government, arbitration will provide a practical field in which our capacities can be tested. In some parts the work has already been begun and with remarkable success, but it is necessary to lay the foundations all over Bengal. The difficulties that lie in its way are not so insuperable as they at first appear; if the lawyer class can be provided with a means of living by the arbitration system, their passive opposition, which is the only real obstacle to be dreaded, can be removed The existing courts will provide careers for those who wish to earn large fortunes in the legal line, but the host of small practitioners in the mofussil are those who will be affected by the spread of arbitration and some provision must be made in our arbitration schemes by which their field, if restricted, may not be entirely destroyed. The subject is one which demands detailed treatment and it will be the theme

of a future article. At present we wish only to emphasize its great importance.

When we have laid the foundations of arbitration, our work is not finished; the positive side of it only has been done. There is another side less palpable, but even more important, and it is the destructive or negative side, the removal of old prepossessions, false beliefs, false ideals from the mind of the people. So long as the least tittle of faith in the bureaucracy remains in the lowest class of our population, the conditions of success are not complete. The bureaucracy is itself doing much to destroy the ancient faith in its philanthropy, integrity and high motive which was the source of its strength, but this is chiefly in the educated class and the landed aristocracy both of which, whatever the outward professions, fear or self-interest may dictate, are now thoroughly alienated. The only work which remains to be done so far as these classes are concerned, is to generate faith in the nation; for so far as moderatism still prevails, it is not owing to faith in the bureaucracy but to distrust in the nation. The lower classes have still to be inoculated with the spirit of self-help, in separation from the alien and confidence in their own countrymen. To some extent the work has been done, the seed has been sown; Swadeshi is the seedbed of this spirit of self-reliance, this sense of separateness and, at least among the Hindu community, Swadeshi is deeply rooted in all classes. But this seed has yet to fructify and spring up. The only way in which this can be done is to destroy the barriers between the educated class and the peasantry which English education has created, to restore the old unity of society by mutual service, by love, by self-identification with the mass of our countrymen. The volunteer movement, now in a rudimentary state, has to be developed and perfected so as to form

the bridge of communication between the heart of the people and the brain of the educated community. Our propaganda among the masses must consist less in the teaching of ideas than in teaching by acts, less in intellectual conviction than in the appeal to the heart and to the imagination. No time should be lost in taking this work in hand, the days are passing by with great swiftness and bringing us nearer and nearer to the final struggle when the people and the bureaucracy will stand face to face On that day the masses will weigh down the scale and decide victory or defeat.

THE NEW IDEAL

B.M., WEEKLY ED, APRIL 12, 1908

The need of a great ideal was never more keenly felt than it is in India at the present day. Nowhere have so many weaknesses combined to stand in the way of a nation in the whole range of history. Nowhere have the rulers reduced their subjects to so complete, pervading and abject a material helplessness. When the Mogul ruled, he ruled as a soldier and a conqueror, in the pride of his strength, in the confidence of his invincible greatness the lord of the peoples by natural right of his imperial character and warlike strength and skill He stooped to no meanness, hedged himself in with no army of spies, entered into no relations with foreign powers, but, grandiose and triumphant, sat on the throne of a continent like Indra on his heavenly seat, master of his world because there was none strong enough

to dispute it with him. He trusted his subjects, gave them positions of power and responsibility, used their brain and arm to preserve his conquests and by the royalty of that trust and noble pride in his own ability to stand by his innate strength, was able to hold India for over a century until Aurangzebe forgot the *Kuladharma* of his house and by distrust, tyranny and meanness lost for his descendants the splendid heritage of his forefathers. The present domination is a rule of shop-keepers who are at the same time bureaucrats, a combination of the worst possible qualities for imperial Government. The shop-keeper rules by deceit, the bureaucrat by the use of redtape. The shop-keeper by melancholy meanness alienates the subject population, the bureaucrat by souless rigidity deprives the administration of life and human sympathy. The shop-keeper uses his position of authority to push his wares and fleece his subjects, the bureaucrat forgets his duty and loses his royal character in his mercantile greed. The shop-keeper becomes a pocket Machiavel, the bureaucrat a gigantic retail trader. By this confusion of *dharmas*, *varnashankara* is born in high places and the nation first and the rulers afterward go to perdition. This is what has happened in India under the present regime. The bureaucracy have ruled in the spirit of a mercantile power, holding his position by aid of mercenaries, afraid of its subjects, with no confidence in its destiny, with no trust even in the mercenaries who support it, pilling up gold with one hand, with the other holding a borrowed sword over the head of a fallen people. It has sought its strength not in the mission with which God had entrusted it, nor in the greatness of England, her mastery of the ocean, her pride of unconquered prowess, her just and sympathetic principle of government, but in the weakness of the people. The strength of England has been

held as a threat in the background, not as a source of quiet and unostentatious self-confidence which enable the rulers to be generous as well as just. The liberal principles of English rule have been chanted as a sort of magic *mantra* to hypnotise the nation into willing subjection, not used as a living principle of government. What have been the real sources of bureaucratic strength? An Arms act, a corrupt and oppressive police, an army of spies, a mercenary military force officered by Englishmen, a people emasculated, kept ignorant, out of the world's life, poor, intimidated, abjectly under the thumb of the police constable or the provincial prefect. Such a principle of rule cannot endure. It contradicts the law of God and offends the reason of man; it is as unprofitable as it is selfish and heartless.

The nation which has passed through a century of such a misgovernment must necessarily have degenerated. The bureaucracy has taken care to destory every centre of strength not subservient to itself. A nation politically disorganised, a nation morally corrupted, intellectually pauperised, physically broken and stunted is the result of a hundred years of British rule, the account which England can give before God of the trust which He placed in her hands. The condition of the people is the one answer to all the songs of praise which the bureaucrats sing of their rule, which the people of England chorus with such a smug self-satisfaction and which even foreign peoples echo in the tune of admiration and praise. But for us the people who have suffered, the victims of the miserable misuse which bureaucrats have made of the noblest opportunity God ever gave to a nation, the song has no longer any charm, the *mantra* has lost its hypnotic force, the spell has ceased to work. While we could we deceived ourselves, but we can deceive ourselves no longer. Pain is a terrible disillusioner

and the pangs which had come upon us were those of approaching dissolution. It was at the last moment, when further delay would have meant death, that a higher than earthly physician administered through a proud viceroy the potent poison of Partition and saved the life of India. The treatment of the disease has been drastic and will continue to be drastic. There are those wro dream of mild remedies, whose beautiful souls will not bear to think of the fierceness or strife, hatred or agony which a revolution implies; but strong poisons are the only salvation in desperate diseases and we fear that without these poisons India will not easily or ever recover from the fatal and consuming disease which has overtaken her. What will support her under the stress of the agony she will have to undergo? What strength will help her to shake off the weaknesses which have crowded in on her? How will she raise herself from the dust whom a thousand shackles bind down? Only the strength of a superhuman ideal, only the gigantic force of a superhuman will, only the vehemence of an effort which transcends all that man has done and approaches divinity. Where will she find that strength, that force, that vehemence? In herself. We have seen Ramamurti, the modern Bhimasen, lie motionless resistant, with a superhuman force of will power acting through the muscles while two carts loaded with men are driven over his body. India must undergo an ordeal of passive endurance far more terrible without relaxing a single fibre of her frame. We have seen Ramamurti break over his chest a strong iron chain tightened round his whole body and break it by the sheer force of will working through the body. India must work a similar deliverance for herself by the same inner force. It is not by strength of body that Ramamurti accomplishes his feats for he is not stronger than many athletes who could never do what he does daily,

but by faith and will. India has in herself a faith of superhuman virtue to accomplish miracles, to deliver out of irrifragable bondage to bring God down upon earth. She has a secret of will power which no other nation possesses. All she needs to rouse in her that faith, that will, is an ideal which will induce her to make the effect. That ideal is now being preached by Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal in every speech he delivers and never has it been delivered with such beauty of expression, such a passion of earnestness and pathos, such a sublimity of feeling as at Uttarpara on Sunday when he addressed a meeting of the people in the compound of the Uttarpara Library. The ideal is that of humanity in God, of God in humanity, the ancient ideal of the *sanatana dharma* but applied as it has never been applied before to the problem of politics and the work of national revival. To realise that ideal, to impart it to the world is the mission of India. She has evolved a religion which embraces all that the heart, the brain, the practical faculty of man can desire but she has not yet applied it to the problems of modern politics. This therefore is the work which she has still to do before she can help humanity; the necessity of this mission is the justification for her resurgence, the great incentive of saving herself to save mankind is the native power which will give her the force; the strength, the vehemence which can alone enable her to realise her destiny. No lesser ideal will help her through the stress of the terrible ordeal which she will in a few years be called to face. No hope less pure will save her from the demoralisation which follows revoluntionary strife, the growth of passions, a violent selfishnesses, sanguinary hatred, insufferable license, the disruption of moralties, the resurgence of the tiger in man which a great revolution is apt to foster. Srijut Bepin Chandra speaks under an

inspiration which he himself is unable to resist. The public wish to hear him on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education—the old subjects of his unparalleled eloquence, and he himself may desire to speak on them, but the voice of a prophet is not his own to speak the thing he will, but another's to speak the thing he must. India needed the gospel of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education to nerve her to her first effort, but now that she is drawing nearer to the valley of the shadow of Death she needs a still mightier inspiration, a still more enthusiastic and all-conquering faith. The people have not yet understood, but the power to understand is in them, and if any voice can awake that power, it is Bepin Chandra's.

THE WHEAT AND THE CHAFF

_B.M._, DAILY, APRIL 23, 1908

"The result of the Convention meeting at Allahabad is now certain, and it seems that after a brief struggle Sir Pherozshah has prevailed. We have done much for reunion, and have striven in vain. The personality of Sir Pherozshah Mehta and the votes of his Bombay henchmen have overborne the feeble patriotism and wavering will of the Bengal Moderates and their Punjab supporters. The Convention has thrown in its lot with Minto and Morley and sacrificed the country at the altar of the bureaucracy,

and as the Bengal leaders have not dissociated themselves from the Convention we must hold that the entire Moderate party have agreed to betray the mandate of their country and the future of their people. For a brief moment God placed the destiny of India in their hands and gave them a free choice whether they would serve Him or self,—the country or the bureaucracy. They have chosen, and chosen the worse course; they too have made the great refusal Whatever may happen henceforth, they must be reckoned as servants of the alien bureaucrat disguised as *patriots* to deceive and mislead the people, enemies of Nationalism, foes of Indian independence who prefer the service of a foreign domination to the perils of a struggle for freedom. They have refused to serve the Mother with an undivided heart;—they have placed the alien on the throne of her future and dared to think that she will accept a left hand and inferior chair at the side of his seat of empire. Let them serve the master they have chosen and find what wages he will give them for their service. No Nationalist henceforth can consent to seek reconciliation with them or clasp the hand that has sold the country for a foreign hire; a cleavage has been made between those who will suffer for their country and those who have declared that they will have no share in those suffering,—no part or lot in the great struggle of the future. It is well. We need waste no further time in seeking union with the men who before Surat had resolved on a disruption motived by the desire of bureaucratic favour and the fear of bureaucratic displeasure. The day of compromise is past Frank, clear, and unmistakable let the great issue stand for the country to decide as between the lovers of freedom and the lovers of servitude,—between the men who palter with the demand of the Mother for whole-

hearted service and those who have given all to her,—between the advocates of a contradiction and the preachers of the unadorned truth. On the one side the cry is 'For India and Freedom'; on the other 'For India and the Bureaucracy', whichever appeals to its heart and its intellect the country will choose.

Of the Conventionalists let us speak no further, if any of them have it in them to repent, let them repent soon, for the hour of grace that is given them will be short and the punishment swift. Into the secrets of their hearts we cannot pry; and it may be that there are some of them whose will only half consented to the betrayal, or whose intellectual charity was too small to understand what they were doing. But man's fate is determined by his acts, which produce mechanically their inevitable result; and they must share the fortune of those with whom they have cast in their lot. Before the world is much older, they will see the fruits of their work and rejoice over them if they can. For Nationalism a new era began with the 19th of April 1908. The sharp division that it has created between the two parties will bring the strength of Nationalism, the sincerity of its followers, and the validity of its principles to the fiercest test that any cause can undergo".

The article continues in a semi-religious, semi-prophetic strain, and declares that no man can serve two masters, and God cannot be truly served by half-hearted workers; the time for easy service is over, the work before the Nationalist is of the sternest kind and men of unflinching sternness are required to carry it out:—

"The hero, the martyr, the man of iron will and iron heart, the grim fighter whose tough nerves defeat cannot tire out nor danger relax, the born leader in action, the man who cannot sleep or rest while his country is enslaved,

the priest of *Kali* who can tear his heart out of his body and offer it as a bleeding sacrifice on the Mother's altar, the heart of fire and the tongue of flame whose lightest word is an inspiration to self-sacrifice or a spur to action, —for these the time is coming; the call will soon go forth.

The heroes are here already maturing in the darkness, and no man should lightly undertake the profession of Nationalism, as the tests before him are severer than those from which the place-hunter, the title-hunter, the popularity hunter, the politician of mixed motives and crooked way, the trimmers, the light speakers and ready swearers, of the old politics have paled and recoiled so early and so easily."

The article concludes with the following words:— "What the Mother needs is hard clear steel for her sword, hard massive granite for her fortress, wood that will not break for the handle of her bow, tough substance and true for the axle of her chariot. For the battle is near and the trumpet ready for the signal".

NEW CONDITIONS

B.M., WEEKLY ED., MAY 3, 1908

A great deal of the work done by us during the last three years has been of a purely preparatory character. The preparation of the national mind was the first necessity. All that the old school of politics did was to prepare the way for the new thought by giving a full trial to the

delusions that then possessed the people and demonstrating their complete futility. Since the awakening of the nation to the misdirection of its energies a fresh delusion has taken possession for a time of the national mind, and this is the idea that a great revolution can be worked out without the sacrifices of which history tells in the case of other nations. There is a general shrinking from the full danger of the struggle, a wish to try by how few sacrifices the work can be accomplished and at how cheap a cost the priceless boon of liberty can be purchased. This reluctance to enter on the real struggle was a necessary and salutary stage of the movement, because the nation, after the long pauperisation of its energies and enervation of its character by a hundred years of dependence and mendicancy, would have been unequal to the sacrifices the real struggle demands. A fresh stage is at hand in which this reluctance can no longer be indulged. A nation cannot afford to haggle with Providence or to buy liberty in the cheapest market from the Dispenser of human fate. The sooner the struggle now commences, the sooner the fate of India is fought out between the forces of progress and reaction, the better for India and for the world. Delay will only waste our strength and give opportunities to the enemy. A band of men is needed who can give up everything for their country, whose sole thought and occupation shall be the stimulation of the movement by whatever means the moment suggests or opportunity allows. If such a band can be got together, then only will real work as distinct from the work of preparation be possible; for the salvation of a country cannot be the work of our leisure moments, the product of our superfluous energy or the result of a selfish life in which the country comes in only for the leavings. Devoted servants of India are needed who will ask for no reward,

no ease, no superfluities, but only their bare maintenance and roof over their heads to enable them to work for her. This attitude of utter self-abandonment is the first condition of success. *Sannyas*, utter and inexorable, *tyag*, unreserved and pitiless, *Mumukshutwa*, burning and insatiable, must be the stamp of the true servant of India. Academical knowledge, power of debate, laborious study of problems, the habit of ease and luxury at home and slow and tentative work abroad, the attitdue of patience and leisurely self-preparation are not for this era or for this country. An immense and incalculable revolution is at hand and its instruments must be themselves immense in their aspiration, uncalculating in their self-immolation. A sacrifice of which the mightiest *Yajna* of old can only be a feeble type and far-off shadow, has to be instituted and the victims of that sacrifice are ourselves, our lives, our hopes, our ambitions, all that is personal and not of God, all that is devoted to our own service and taken from the service of the country. The greatest must fall as victims before the God of the sacrifice is satisfied. Whoever is afraid for himself, afraid for his property, afraid for his kith and kin, afraid for his vanity, self-interest, glory, ease or liberty, had better stand aside from the sacrifice, for at any time the call may come to him to lay down all these upon the altar. If he then refuses, his fate will be worse than that of the fugitive who prefers safety to the struggle, for he will be a recusant doomed to suffer without reward and fall without glory.

The times are thickening already with the shadow of a great darkness. The destruction of the Congress, begun at Surat and accomplished at Allahabad, is the prelude for the outburst of the storm that has long been brewing. Great issues were involved in that historic struggle at Surat

of which none of the actors were aware. Only posterity looking back with awe on the sequel, will date the commencement of the real world-shaking earthquake from that slight ruffling of the untroubled surface of the soil. The forces that sent that slight quiver of the earth to the surface are hidden as yet from the eye of contemporary politics or only dimly guessed by a few, but within a brief period they will have declared themselves to the amazement of those who thought that they were only playing a clever tactical game with the lifeless figures of a puppet show. The grim forces that have been moving under the surface will now find the field open to them by the shattering of the keystone of the old political edifice. The efforts of the two parties to replace the Congress by new bodies of a party character are not likely to prosper, for the Moderate Convention will fade into nothingness by its inherent want of vitality, while the Congress of the Nationalists, whatever its destiny, will not be the old Congress but a new and incalculable force, the product of a revolution and perhaps its plaything. The disappearance of the old Congress announces the end of the preparatory stage of the movement, the beginning of a clash of forces whose first full shock will produce chaos. The fair hopes of an orderly and peaceful evolution of self-government, which the first energies of the new movement had fostered, are gone for ever. Revolution, bare and grim, is preparing her battle-field, mowing down the centres of order which were evolving a new cosmos and building up the materials of a gigantic downfall and a mighty new creation. We could have wished it otherwise, but God's will be done.

IDEALS FACE TO FACE

B.M., WEEKLY ED., MAY 3, 1908

A new ordeal always brings with it a new awakening. The ordeal of partition brought with it a great industrial awakening with politics as its undercurrent, a sort of economico-political self-realisation. All that such an awakening could do for the political future of the country has now been done. The ordeal of the Risley Circular brought with it a great educational awakening with politics as its impulse, a sort of politico-educational self-realisation. The ordeal of the Congress split will also bring with it a fresh awakening. This time the awakening will be political with a religious undercurrent. It is time that the nation rose above Swadeshi to Swaraj. It is time that it left the path of self-realisation through disguises and side-issues and flung itself frankly and wholly into the attempt to win Swaraj. The Surat split took place over the side-issue of the President's election, but the Convention's attitude has brushed away all side-issues and brought to the front the question of Swaraj. The future success of the Nationalist party depends on the boldness with which it takes up the real point at issue and affirms its beliefs. If it hedges, then the Convention will have a sort of sanction for its attitude which will give it a moral force otherwise entirely lacking to its action. The ideal of unqualified Swaraj has a charm for the national mind which is irresistible if it is put before it in the national way by minds imbued with Indian feeling and free from the gross taint of Western materialism. Swaraj as a sort of European ideal, political liberty for the sake of political self-assertion, will not awaken India. Swaraj as the fulfilment of the ancient

life of India under modern conditions, the return of the *Satyayuga* of national greatness, the resumption by her of her great *role* of teacher and guide, self-liberation of the people for the final fulfilment of the Vedantic ideal in politics, this is the true Swaraj for India. Of all the proud nations of the West there is an end determined. When their limited special work for mankind is done they must decay and disappear. But the function of India is to supply the world with a perennial source of light and renovation. Whenever the first play of energy is exhausted and earth grows old and weary, full of materialism, racked with problems she cannot solve, the function of India is to restore the youth of mankind and assure it of immortality. She sends forth a light from her bosom which floods the earth and the heavens, and mankind bathes in it like St. George in the well of life and recovers strength, hope and vitality for its long pilgrimage. Such a time is now at hand. The world needs India and needs her free. The work she has to do now is to organize life in the terms of Vedanta, and that is a work she cannot do while overshadowed by a foreign power and a foreign civilisation. She cannot do it without taking the management of her own life into her own hands. She must live her own life and not the life of a part or subordinate in a foreign Empire.

All political ideals must have relation to the temperament and past history of the race. The genius of India is separate from that of any other race in the world, and perhaps there is no race in the world whose temperament, culture and ideals are so foreign to her own as those of the practical, hard-headed, Pharisaic, shopkeeping Anglo-Saxon. The culture of the Anglo-Saxon is the very antipodes of Indian culture. The temper of the Anglo-Saxon is the very reverse of the Indian temper. His ideals

are of the earth, earthy. His institutions are without warmth, sympathy, human feeling, rigid and accurate like his machinery, meant for immediate and practical gains. The reading of democracy which he has adopted and is trying to introduce first in the colonies because the mother country is still too much shackled by the past, is the most sordid possible, centred on material aims and void of generous idealism. In such a civilisation, as part of such an Empire, India can have no future. If she is to model herself on the Anglo-Saxon type she must first kill everything in her which is her own. If she is to be a province of the British Empire, part of its life, sharing its institutions, governed by its policy, the fate of Greece under Roman dominion will surely be hers. She may share the privileges and obligations of British citizenship,—though the proud Briton who excludes the Indian from his colonies and treats him as a lower creature, will perish rather than concede such an equality,—but she will lose her Indian birthright. She will have to pass a ponge over her past and obliterate it from her life, even if she preserves the empty records of it in her schools. The degradation of a great nation, by the loss of her individuality, her past and her independent future, to the position of a subordinate satellite in a foreign system, is the ideal of the Convention. It is sheer political atheism, the negation of all that we were, are and hope to be. The return of India on her eternal self, the restoration of her splendour, greatness, trimuphant Asiatic supremacy is the ideal of Nationalism. Is it doubtful which ideal will be more acceptable to the nation, that which calls on it to murder its instincts, sacrifice its future and deny its past for the advantage of an inglorious security, or that which asks it to fulfil itself by the strenuous reassertion of all that is noble and puissant in the blood it

draws from such an heroic ancestry as no other nation can boast?

The ideal creates the means of attaining the ideal, if it is itself true and rooted in the destiny of the race. All that can be said for the Convention's ideal is that it saves the professor of the ideal from the wrath of the bureaucracy. Otherwise it is as grotesquely out of proportion to the strength of the people who profess it as any which the Nationalist can uphold. It has no exciting virtue of divine enthusiasm which can inspire to heroic effort and enable a fallen nation to shake off its weakness, turn cowards into heroes and selfish men into self-denying martyrs of the cause, and yet the effort it demands for realisation is as heroic as anything which the Nationalist expects from the people. The pride of race, the pride of empire, the pride of colour are the three invincible barriers which stand between it and its ralisation. What force have the Conventionalists to set against these? Tears and supplications, appeals to British justice and British generosity—nothing else. They are not serious in their ideal and do not really hold it but flaunt it as a counterpoise to the Nationalist ideal so that the country may be deceived into thinking they have an aim and a policy. They have none. A false ideal is always a veil for something else, and the Convention creed is with some a veil for secret hopes of liberty which they dare not avow and with others a veil for the absence of any aim except the hope of securing a few peddling reforms in the existing system of administration.

The future is with the Nationalist ideal because there is no other. But the danger is that the false shadow of an ideal which is now being put forward as a reality will be accepted as a convenient instrument for self-protection against the anger of the bureaucracy. The temptation it

holds out is one to which all new faiths are exposed, that which was the chief danger of Christianity in the days of persecution, to which, for a fleeting moment, Mahomed is said to have succumbed when harrassed by the Koraish, the temptation of securing a respite from persecution by a false profession which, masking itself as a harmless piece of diplomacy, will really be a fatal stab at the very heart of the new religion. This temptation must be religiously eschewed and the true issue boldly proclaimed if Nationalism is to fulfil its divinely-appointed mission.

THE BED-ROCK OF INDIAN NATIONALISM—I

B.M., WEEKLY ED, JUNE 14, 1908

The strength of the new movement in India lies in its supreme idealism. It is not a mere economic movement, though it openly strives for the economic resurrection of the country. It is not a mere political movement, though it has boldly declared itself for absolute political independence. It is an intensely spiritual movement having for its object not simply the development of economic life or the attainment of political freedom, but, really the emancipation, in every sense of the term, of the Indian manhood and and womanhood. Those who look upon it as a mere industrial movement lay naturally the greatest stress upon the organisation of capital or co-operative labour or the opening of new industries and the revival, under modern

conditions and to suit modern needs,—of the old and decadent industries of the people. They assure the success of the movement by the quantity of increased production or the number of new and successful enterprises. With them the question is how many mills, how many banks, how many stores, how many co-operative grain-*golas* have been opened, and how are these working? This is, to their mind, the true and, what they call practical, test of the strength and success of the movement. The economic aspect of the new Indian resurgence is undoubtedly a very important aspect. A healthy and vigorous national life, whatever may be its ultimate ideal and destiny as embodied in its peculiar race-consciousness or revealed by the course of its historic evolution,—is impossible without a sound economic basis and structure. As the primary condition for the fullest realisation of individual life and destiny is a healthy and strong physical constitution, so the primary condition for the fullest realisation of national life and destiny, is a sound and strong economic arrangement in the body politic. In the reconstruction of the national life in India the importance of economic reconstruction can never be really over-rated. But while fully recognising the value of the new economic movements in the country as a means towards the realisation of our highest destiny as a nation, we refuse to assign to these the highest place in our programme. They are valuable as means to an end, and should never be confused with the end itself. Our protests against the exploitation of the immense resources of the country by foreign capital protected and supported by a foreign political authority are not due to any desire for mere increase of national wealth leading to an increase in the comforts and luxuries of life. Other nations have sought wealth for its own sake; India alone sought it,

when her life was free and natural, for not its own sake but for the sake of what it called the Self. For us to enter into the almost universal industrial conflict of modern humanity with a view to secure to ourselves as much of the world's riches as we can, would be an act of suicidal folly. It would practically amount to an open abdication of our legitimate and God-appointed place in the life of universal humanity. It is from us, we claim, that the message of the economic salvation of the world must go We are called upon to reconstruct our own economic life upon a highly spiritual basis, subordinating the body and its wants and enjoyments to the needs of the Spirit, and to so arrange the relations between labour and capital, between individual wealth and social justice, that each man shall have the fullest measure of both leisure and opportunities for the cultivation of his higher life,—not simply for our sake, but also for the sake of the larger humanity of our age. The evil of the existing socio-economic arrangements in so-called civilisation consists mainly in the fact that while it amasses wealth in the hands of a few it leaves the many to fight day and night with a soul-killing poverty that leaves them neither leisure nor energy to cultivate the higher life. The economic resurrection of India will fail of its purpose if it cannot deliver a message of salvation to the poverty-stricken populations of the whole world, by presenting a social and economic arrangement that will finally solve the problem of the conflict between capital and labour, the conflict between individual freedom and social authority, which contains really the very essence of the complex problems of modern socialism, before which Europe and America seem to be sitting almost with folded hands in utter despair. Our protests against the British exploitation of the economic resources of India

have, thus, a national as well as a universal aspect. In its national aspect it means the demand of the Indian nation for that sufficiency of food, shelter, raiment, and the other necessaries and even those comforts of life that are essential to the due development of manhood in the people. In its universal aspect, it means a promise for such a reconstruction of economic life in India upon a supremely spiritual basis as will offer a valuable object lesson to the sociologists and statesmen of the world, such as will enable them to realise the ideal of that Kingdom of God on earth, that New Jerusalem, after which Europe and Christendom generally have been striving in vain for the last two thousand years. We do not ignore the importance of the economic activities of the present national movement in India. But we do think that these movements have not as yet fallen into lines. There is a good deal of imitation here of European methods, and a general neglect of the peculiarities of Indian life and Indian history. It seems to be very feebly realised as yet that, as in other matters so in regard to the reconstruction of her economic life also, India must follow the especial genius of her people, keep generally to her own especial lines of evolution, and, above all, be guided by the especial ideal and destiny of her composite civilisation. These defects will have to be remedied; and the consciousness that wealth and the comforts and conveniences that it brings, are not an end unto themselves, must always be kept, bright and strong in the national mind, when it is engaged in working out the economic problems before it. To set up the measure of the actual industrial or commercial activities in the country as a whole, or in any of its provinces, as a test of the strength and vitality of the national movement, seems to us to be essentially wrong. We refuse to accept the validity of this

test. It seeks to measure what is essentially a spiritual movement by the mean standards of material computation. The true test of nationalism is not the strength or extent of its economic enterprises; nor even is it the vigour and vitality of its specific political activities. It must be measured by the strength of its hold on the ideal, and its determination to attain it at any cost. It is therefore that we are so persistent in our discussion of the ideal. It is therefore that we value the creation of a spirit of self-sacrifice among the people as infinitely of greater worth and importance than any number of organisations for so-called practical work. For the Spirit is the bed-rock of our movement. It is the life of this Spirit that we are seeking through our economic organisation and our political activities And deathless as is the Spirit, the Self, so is this movement beyond killing by any amount of brute force, however sanctified it may be by the sanction of a legislature composed of, and ruled by, an outside authority. With the Psalmist of old, representing the spirit of the ancient Hebrew Race, the Spirit of Nationalism in India may well declare to all the world,—

> The Lord is my rock and my fortress,
> and my deliverer;
> My God, my strong rock, in Him
> will I trust;
> My shield, and the horn of my
> salvation, my high tower,
> I will call upon the Lord, who is
> worthy to be praised;
> So shall I be saved from mine
> enemies.

THE BED-ROCK OF INDIAN NATIONALISM—II

B.M., WEEKLY ED., JUNE 14, 1908

If, as we pointed out yesterday, the new movement in India is not, essentially, an economic movement, though it does seek to reconstruct Indian society upon a sound economic basis, such as will remove the present soul-killing poverty of the people and secure to each man and woman all the necessaries of life at the least expenditure of their physical energy and mental efforts, and thus leave them the largest amount of leisure and energy for the cultivation of what is known as the higher life, and, thereby, enable them to realise their highest manhood;—neither is it an essentially political movement, though it has rightly taken up the cause of political freedom as a necessary precondition of the realisation of its ultimate end and purpose. It is, as we have repeatedly declared in these columns, an essentially spiritual movement having for its object the attainment of the lofty and transcendent spiritual ideals of the people. The ground work of what may well be called the composite culture of India is undoubtedly Hindu. Though the present Indian nationality is composed of many races, and the present Indian culture of more than one world civilisation, yet it must be admitted that the Hindu forms its base and centre; and while submitting to all the varied influences and expanding itself perpetually under all these foreign contacts, it has given a distinct mark to those world cultures that have found a habitation in India. Indian Islam is, thus, somewhat different from the general Islamic culture of the world, and has developed a distinct individuality of its own which will be bound to contribute, in time, to the general thought life and spiritual ideals of universal Moslem culture

and civilisation. Indian Christianity, similarly, when it is able to free itself from the incubus of foreign missions and the ignorant and unspiritual guidance of half-educated missionaries, will be a distinct type by itself, which will be bound to deepen and broaden the religious and spiritual consciousness of Christendom, and develop, like the Alexandrian schools, a new philosophy of Christian life and dogma, far more spiritual in its character and far more rational in its thoughts, than what has hitherto been known to Latin Christianity. Both Christianity and Islam have come to stay in India, and form essential elements in her present life and thought. The Hindus will no more be Christianised at present than they had been Mahomedanised under the rule of the Moslem Neither will Indian Christians be Hinduised, or the Indian Mohamedans be converted into Hinduism. The different world religions representing different world culture that have already found a habitation in India will remain here always, form elements of the common national life, and contribute to the evolution of the composite culture of modern India The Hindu culture, however, on account of its age and its superior numerical strength, will always form the ground work of this composite Indian culture and civilisation. The dominant note of Hindu culture, its sense of the spiritual and universal, will, therefore, be the peculiar feature of this composite, Indian Nationality. The new movement which seeks to embody the ideals and aspirations of this nationality, is, therefore, an essentially spiritual movement. And the type of spirituality that it seeks to develop, is essentially Hindu. Its key-note is the essential unity of God and man. The divinity of man is its highest gospel To evolve God out of man, is its highest aim. It seeks to bring the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, in a sense not yet realised by Christian

consciousness in Europe or America. It seeks to establish a New Jerusalem in this world, in a sense scarcely revealed as yet to the disciples of Swedenburgh. It aims at realising an ideal of democracy which proclaims that man is only your brother, but—yes—your God. The revelation of God in man is the one eternal ideal that it seeks as much through its attempts to reconstruct the economic life of the Indian people, as through all its arduous struggles for the political emancipation of this subject race. All our political activities of the past few years have been inspired by this ideal. We do not desire political freedom for its own sake, but only and absolutely for the opportunities it offers for the cultivation of our highest manhood, and through it for the realisation, in the actualities of our social and civic life, of our life in God.

The sages of India have declared of old that God and man are essentially one. Taken by itself this world is unreal, but viewed in God it is intensely real. Taken by himself, man is a toy of time, a play-thing in the hands of death; but when viewed in relation to God, he is a spirit, a soul, an *atma,* eternally pure, free, and self-realised, as the Supreme Spirit, the Over-Soul, the *Paramatman* himself. Made not only in the image, but out of the very substance of his Maker, man is essentially divine. His humanity is ephemeral, his divinity is abiding and eternal. His ignorance is temporary, his illumination is permanent. His sin is accidental, his purity is constitutional. He is God's own self, manifested within the limitations of time and space and conditioned by the necessities of an earthly life. "Svetaketu, that art thou", this is the last word of the Vedanta. *Nara*—man, is the image, the symbol, the body, the *vigraha* of Narayana, of the Lord,—this is the universal teaching of the *Vaishnava.* Every denomination, every sect,

almost every school of thought, among the Hindus, has, in one shape or another, proclaimed this ancient truth from almost the very beginning of Hindu history. This has been the one universal feature of Hindu thought and Hindu race-consciousness. The new movement in India seeks to realise this ancient truth in the actual, social, economic, and civic life of the people of India, under the complex conditions of modern life. This ancient spiritual ideal of our race forms the bed-rock of that Indian nationalism which has been seeking such varied expressions through our economic, our social, and our political activities of recent years. A mere economic attempt might be killed by powerful economic combination. A mere political revolt might be easily crushed by superior physical force or diplomatic cunning. But an essentially spiritual movement, that seeks to realise itself through a reconstruction of economic life, and a reconstitution of the State, cannot be killed without killing the entire people among whom it takes its birth. It is here that all our hope and all our strength lie.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji, M. P. observes : "Prof. Haridas Mukherjee and Prof. Uma Mukherjee have laid their countrymen under obligation by recovering by their arduous researches many of the lost articles of the **Bande Mataram** which was at one time the mightiest organ of Nationalism in this country. The work as a source of valuable original material is indispensable for the study of India's Freedom Movement in its formative stages upon which depended its future. It is to be commended not merely for the value of the matter but also for the manner of its presentation."

Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghose also writes : "The remembrance of the great Swadeshi days when Aurobindo, Bipinchandra, Shyamsundar, Upadhaya and myself worked together comes wafted across the years as I read the collection of articles so carefully compiled by Haridas and Uma. The book is a **vade mecum** of Indian Nationalism and must be read by every historian."

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